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ORIENTAL AFFINITIES OF THE LEGEND OF THE HAIRY ANCHORITE

THE THEME OF THE HAIRY SOLITARY IN ITS EARLY FORMS
WITH REFERENCE TO
DIE LÜGEND VON SANCT JOHANNE CHRYSOSTOMO
(REPRINTED BY LUTHER, 1537) AND TO OTHER EUROPEAN VARIANTS

BY

CHARLES ALLYN WILLIAMS

PART I: PRE-CHRISTIAN

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PREFACE

It was Martin Luther who gave to one form of a Christian legend, the Oriental forms of which are to be traced in this study, the designation "*Die Lügend von S. Johanne Chrysostomo*,"—"*Lügend*," of course, to be understood for *Lüge* and *Legende*, as if we should say *lie*-gend for legend. My attention was first directed to the legend of the solitary hairy ascetic, not by Luther's reprint of the German prose version, but by another text, a long fifteenth century *Meisterlied*, the only known copy of which I found in a neglected German miscellaneous MS. in the Vatican.

The search for European parallels soon showed that related material in Romance sources was more extensive and in part older than the German. A friend and former colleague, Professor Louis Allen, of the University of Toronto, became interested in the Romance versions and has carried his still uncompleted investigations of them far beyond his predecessors.

Then it became clear that the legend in the German and other European forms could not be properly understood without considering the Oriental connections. I should have been very glad if some one as well equipped in the Oriental field as Professor Allen is in the Romance, could have shown the relation of the late medieval European versions to traditions of the Near and Mid-East. Since there was no immediate prospect that a scholar trained for such work would undertake the task, I ventured upon it myself, working back mainly from the two German versions. The early Christian versions, mainly the product of Egyptian asceticism, had to be considered; from these the way led naturally to the Old Testament, to the *Gilgamesh Epic* and to Hindu legend. I found that competent Oriental and Biblical scholars, investigating separately, had done much to clear up the main traditions in Western Asia, India and Christian Egypt. But no one had sought out and assembled all the threads which I felt belonged together—to essay this after re-examining and comparing known material of a period of over three thousand years was therefore to be my main purpose. New relations between old traditions came to light, and a few hitherto overlooked variants of the Christian legend were found during a rather careful search through the three score and more huge tomes of the *Acta Sanctorum*. I do not claim to have found the best way through the syncretistic intricacies of the material, especially of the earlier Christian period, that I have considered in connection with the theme. What has been done may help clarify some matters whose difficulty those who have worked with ancient story can realize. This study has been made for a few students of modern languages; the Orientalist or Biblical scholar into whose hands it may fall,

will, it is to be hoped, judge it with indulgence. If it should stimulate some expert to go deeper into certain phases of the theme, to correct errors or to bring forward new material, the writer would welcome such a contribution as the best reward for his time and pains.

It is a pleasure to express gratitude here to several colleagues at the University of Illinois who contributed valuable information and suggestions. Among these were Professors W. A. Oldfather, G. T. Flom and D. K. Dodge, of the Board of Editors of the University Studies, A. S. Pease, N. C. Brooks, and E. C. Baldwin. Professor A. T. Olmstead, author of the *History of Assyria*, was particularly generous with his time and with helpful advice for the sections on the *Gilgamesh Epic* and the Old Testament. I am also under great obligations to Professor Archer Taylor, of the University of Chicago, for reading and criticizing the MS. of the first sections, and to Professors Louis Allen and T. J. Meek, of Toronto, for helpful suggestions. The scholars mentioned in this paragraph are, of course, not to be held responsible for the way things have been worked out and expressed in this investigation.

A bibliography and an index for the whole study will be added to Part II. C.A.W.

PART I

PRE-CHRISTIAN

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INTRODUCTION

The two extant German versions of the legend of "St. John of the Golden Mouth" ("Chrysostom"), one in prose, the other a *Meisterlied*, both of the fifteenth century, will be taken as our starting-point. They will serve as specimens of the late medieval legends of the penitent hairy anchorite, which were rather numerous outside of Germany, in France, Italy and the Spanish peninsula.[1] The Oriental material presented below will throw light, not on the German versions alone, but on all the European forms of the Christian tale.

The German Prose Version. In 1471 and the year following there was printed in Augsburg by Günther Zainer a bulky collection of legends of the saints entitled *Der Heiligen Leben*. This *Passional* in prose became popular enough to be reprinted many times in the next half-century or so.[2] In the *Winterteil* of this work, 1471, foll. 188^{v}-191^{v}, after a text appropriate to the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul (Jan. 25), appeared the legend *Von sant Johannes crisostimus*.[3] Prof. Louis Allen of the University of

[1] The European forms of the legend acquired an individuality in the 13th century in France. It is in a part of the later European versions, especially those of Italy and Germany, that the hermit is called "St. John of the Golden Mouth." For the French see the article by Louis Karl, "La légende de Saint Jehan Paulus," *Revue des Langues Romanes* 56 (1913), 425-445; the legend in *Romania* 6, 328ff., etc. Italian: A. d'Ancona, *La leggenda di Sant' Albano*, Bologna, 1865 (also pp. 87-96: La Istoria di San Giovanni Boccadoro); d'Ancona *Poemetti popolari Italiani*, Bologna, 1889, 1-56. For Juan Garín, hermit of Monserrate, cf. the lit. cited by L. Pfandl, *Revue Hispanique* 48, p. 16, n. 1; this legend was communicated by W. von Humboldt to Goethe, Humboldt's *Gesammelte Schriften*, 3, Berlin, 1904, pp. 41f.—Also in Latin, R. Köhler, *Kl. Schriften*, 2, Berlin, 1900, pp. 203-206.

[2] According to Franz Falk, *Die Druckkunst im Dienste der Kirche*, etc., Köln, 1879, pp. 83-85, there were some 45 editions between 1471 and 1521. It is a pity that there is no scholarly reprint of this fine example of fifteenth century prose. All that is available is *Der Heiligen Leben und Leiden*, edited by S. Rüttgers, Leipzig, Insel-Verlag. 1913, 2 vols., from the last Augsburg edition of 1513 (Hans Othmar). Rüttgers took no little liberty with the text of the collection and modernized the language and orthography; his text "Von Sankt Joh. Guldenmund," vol. 1, 322ff.—Cf. A. Schramm, *Drucke von Günther Zainer in Augsburg*, (=Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke, 2), Leipz. 1920, pp. 1-8; plate 9, no. 88, cut of the penitent "Chysostom" on hands and knees by the palms near his cell. The legend of Chrysostom does not appear in the earlier and much better known German *Passional* in verse nor in the *Legenda Aurea*, the main source of *Der Heiligen Leben* and of the rimed *Passional*.

[3] At the place in the legendary where one would look for a life of the historical Chrysostom, whose festival is celebrated by the Western Church on Jan. 27.

Toronto, who has been investigating the Romance versions, discovered in this German prose text traces of a late Middle High German form in verse, from which the prose may well have been chiefly derived. Professor Allen believes that lost rimed source was in turn probably closely related to one of the 13th century French poetical versions. The prose version of the Augsburg legendary is, in outline, as follows:

A pope hears the voice of a soul in the torments of purgatory and learns that it is in his power to bring about that soul's release. A child which is to be born in Rome and christened Johannes is to become a priest, and when he shall have celebrated his sixteenth mass, the soul will be freed from its suffering. The pope looks after this child and his education and, mindful of the appeal from purgatory, has him ordained a priest as early as possible, at the age of sixteen.

After his first mass, however, Johannes is filled with a sense of unworthiness because of his youth and steals away into the solitude of the forest. There under a sheltering rock he constructs a cell with a thatch of grass and bark and devotes himself to pious exercises. One summer day the lovely daughter of the emperor[4] goes out with a company of virgins to gather flowers. A great wind arises, catches up the princess, with her beautiful robes and her crown, and lets her down unhurt at the cell of Johannes. She begs admission, giving the reason that she might be devoured by wild beasts and her blood would then be upon him.[5] The young hermit finally lets her in. After many days the Evil One, hating them for their piety, causes Johannes to cross the line he himself made to separate the princess' part of the cell from his and a lapse from chastity is the result. Fearing that he might sin again, Johannes leads the princess to a lofty rock and pushes her off, to her death as he supposes. In remorse he goes to Rome and confesses to the pope, but the latter does not recognize him and will have nothing to do with him. Johannes returns to the forest and imposes upon himself the penance of walking only on hands and feet like a four-footed beast until he shall again find favor with God. His clothing decays and falls away but his naked body becomes covered with a thick growth of hair. Fifteen years pass. The empress gives birth to a child who speaks at the christening, refusing baptism from the pope and insisting that it be performed by "Sant Johannes dem heiligen man." A hunter is sent out to search for the latter, but he returns with a strange beast bound behind him on his horse. The new-born infant recognizes in this hairy creature the missing priest. As Johannes is about to baptize the child all the moss and other vegetation (*das kraut und der myess*—no mention here of the hairy coat) fall from his skin and his body appears as that of a child. Clothing is brought for Johannes. After the christening he tells the pope everything that had happened. The emperor, desiring to recover his daughter's bones, sends the hunter with Johannes to the great rock. There they find the princess *alive* and as fair as the day she appeared to the recluse, for she had been divinely preserved from hunger, thirst and inclement weather. Johannes' parents, too, have an opportunity to welcome their lost son. The pope urges Johannes to celebrate a mass daily for fifteen days so that the soul in purgatory may at last obtain relief.

Johannes becomes a bishop but enemies later compel him to take refuge in a desert place where he writes "much about God"[6] and when his ink gives out he moistens his pen in

[4] At the mention of the emperor Luther remarked sarcastically on the margin of his reprint, "Der hatte keinen namen, wie auch oben der Bapst."

[5] A common trait in Christian stories of tempted hermits (outside of the legend of the hairy anchorite).

[6] This and certain other details here at the end are probably reminiscences of the life of the real Chrysostom.

his mouth; the letters he now forms are all of gold, hence he is called "Johannes mit dem guldin mund."[7] Johannes finally falls ill and dies a blessed death.

This legend was taken so seriously in Germany as to furnish material for one of the literary skirmishes of the Reformation period. Luther pounced upon the story and reprinted it in 1537 in pamphlet-form as *Die Lügend von S. Johanne Chrysostomo*, supplying it with a preface addressed to Pope Paul III, with sarcastic marginal glosses and with some characteristic remarks as a conclusion.[8] Luther's purpose was to show that stories like this were "erstunckene Teuffelissche lügen und eitel verfurissche abgötterey." He claimed the Church, by insisting upon belief in such grotesque fictions (in this case to support the doctrines of the Mass and Purgatory), was in danger of undermining faith in the main tenets of Christianity. One of Luther's strongest and bitterest opponents—it was Cochlaeus—countered his blast at once with a pamphlet couched in language nearly as picturesque as Luther's, maintaining that the Church had not approved this Chrysostom legend, that very few Catholics in fact, even priests, had ever heard of it. Cochlaeus himself speaks of it as "jene faule tölpische Fabel."

The German Meisterlied. The only known text of this is one that I discovered some years ago in a neglected miscellaneous German MS. once belonging to the famous Heidelberg Palatine library, which for three centuries has been reposing in the Vatican. This copy, complete except for a few lines, was made in Augsburg, probably in the second decade of the sixteenth century. The Bavarian original was no doubt of the fifteenth century. The text begins "Ein bischoff hiess crisostimo" and has thirty-seven 17-line stanzas. It was to be sung in "Des leschen fewr weyss thon," but that is not proof that the text itself is by the early Meistersinger, Albrecht Lesch. The immediate source, or probably sources, of this version are unknown.[9]

The bishop Johannes Chrisostimo, or "Johannes mit dem guldin mundt," desires to feel really secure from the corruption of the world. Hence he goes into the wilderness and dwells in a cave as a hermit. There he passes a score of years in the most rigid asceticism, eating only leaves and herbs and allowing his garments to fall from him in decay.

One morning he sees a griffin flying over, bearing as food for its young, a beautiful maiden, the daughter of the king of Zezilia (Sicily). The princess loosens herself, leaving her garments in the clutch of the griffin, and drops into a great forest. She is protected by divine interven-

[7] This version had previously given two other explanations of "John of the Golden Mouth": from the "sweet words" of his preaching (cf. the historical Chrysostom), and from his kissing a gilded image of the Virgin when a young boy.

[8] Edited with introduction and notes in the Weimar edition of Luther, vol. 50, pp. 48-64.

[9] The rather full analysis below will take the place of the MS. text which I intend to publish later—it is too long to be reproduced here. A charming German student's song—one of the earliest known—occurs in the same MS. (already printed in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 17, 214-216). I expect to publish still other parts of the MS.

tion from injury by the fall but her unprotected body suffers during her wanderings in the forest. She finally arrives at the cave of Johannes. The hermit has the old fear of his kind that she may be the devil in disguise, but at last he admits her and cares for her. Finally, however, he falls into sin with his fair guest. He then leads her out into the forest and abandons her there, but to his great dismay she finds her way back at night. She exhibits a most pathetic reluctance to be separated from him—not for the sake of shelter alone, but from profound admiration and regard for the saint "with the golden mouth," whose fame had reached her while she was yet in her father's palace.[10] In order to get rid of her once for all, he pushes her into an exceedingly deep hole or pit in the rocks. But he is soon filled with intense remorse, and as penance he vows continued nakedness and lifelong silence. The princess is preserved a second time by divine grace from death by a fall, and is cared for in the pit by angels. There she gives birth to a son.

Johannes lives on in the forest and his body becomes covered with a growth of hair "much longer than a span." After some thirty years he is discovered by a huntsman who brings him before the king. Johannes undergoes "third degree" treatment (being prodded with awls and beaten) to break his silence. He finally confesses to the chaplain and shows the way back to the pit. A fearless knight descends on a rope and finds—not bones, but the princess herself, *alive*, and with her a full-grown man, her son, who is much amazed at the sight of men. The king is, of course, overjoyed at recovering his daughter. Johannes still refuses to speak, except perhaps to the chaplain, and makes his wishes known by writing with his spittle *in golden letters* on the bark of a birch-tree near by. He advises the princess to remain unmarried and spend her life in God's service. She begs her father to build a cloister for Johannes and himself and a second one for her and other holy women. Some twenty years later an angel brings the faithful ascetic word that in three days his earthly course would be run. Thus Johannes, who must now be over a century old, passes away, mourned by the whole people. The poem makes no further mention of the princess or her son and closes with a moralizing stanza.

The Pagan Elements in the Legend. The hairy-coated hermit of such late medieval Christian stories as these two from Germany can be traced far back in antiquity. A most important part of the pagan basis of the legends existed thousands of years ago in a tradition, widespread in the Near and Mid-Orient, of which the chief features were these:

A king, whose land and people need rain or increase of corn and herds, sends a courtezan to seduce the god or hero of fertility. The latter is conceived as a supernatural hairy creature, partly resembling a man, partly with characteristics of a beast, who lives a free life in a remote retreat with only animals as companions. The woman is successful in enticing this powerful, unsophisticated creature away from what we may call his paradise of animals to the city of the king. With the union of this "beast-man"[11] and the female of the human kind the charm is broken, and rain, fertilizing inundation or other blessings of increase come upon the land. In contact with civilization the beast-man may become humanized and eventually, through his might and his wisdom, come to be the close friend of the king.

[10] Later (stanza 28) she says of Johannes when she first knew him, "Du werest der aller schönest man so er auff erde was." This in spite of the author's statements which made Johannes even then a man of some sixty years, who had lived two whole decades in total neglect of his personal appearance!

[11] Of course there were in ancient tradition various kinds of "beast-men" or hybrids partly human, but the term will be used here with reference to a partly theriomorphic creature which seems to have been derived from a mythical god or hero of productivity. Prof. M. Jastrow, in Jastrow-Clay (*Yale Oriental Series*, Researches IV, 3, pp. 41. 44. 46) used 'animal-man' for *Tiermensch*.

Other pagan elements that must be considered later on are traditions of the ancient Deluge-hero. In some connection with his cycle we find "paradise-journeys,"[12]—or narratives of the type to which the journey of the woman to the beast-man belongs—and stories of the hairy anchorite as a transfigured man of light whose soul ascends to heaven in the sight of a faithful witness. Such elements will be very important for the early Christian forms of our legend, particularly for those that do not make use of the seduction-motive.

The ancient Oriental tradition of the beast-man summarized above was current in various forms according to time and place: primarily, it seems, as an oft-repeated ritual intended to ensure, by sympathetic magic, rainfall and productivity; also as a legend and as an episode in literary epics.

Leopold von Schroeder has shown that rather similar matter was the subject of mimic representation among the Hindus of Vedic times.[13] Prof. W. F. Albright, in a discussion of the heroes of the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic, claims much the same for Mesopotamia.[14] Both Babylonian and Indian sources contain legends of the beast-man. Because of their antiquity and their importance among the pagan parallels of our Christian legends, these traditions form naturally the subject of the first two main sections which follow.

I

THE EPISODE OF ENKIDU AND THE WOMAN IN THE GILGAMESH EPIC

The Gilgamesh Epic, the greatest of the literary monuments of Babylonia, is incomplete as we have it. Parts of old recensions and much more from considerably later Assyrian copies have been published. Fragments from recensions of a period between, (ca. 1300 B.C.), also some remnants in other languages (as Hittite), have recently been made accessible in translation by A. Ungnad.[1]

Of an **Old Babylonian or Akkadian version** of about 2000 B.C. two tablets have been recovered and issued with a translation. One of these, the Pennsylvania tablet, doubtless originally Tablet II, was published by Stephen Langdon,[2] then re-edited by Morris Jastrow and Albert T. Clay

[12] Paradise-journey = *Paradieseswanderung*, will be frequently used in the following pages. It is a variety of the Journey to the Otherworld.

[13] *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda*, Leipzig, 1908, passim. One can follow von Schroeder so far without accepting all his conclusions.

[14] *Journ. Am. Oriental Soc.*, 40, 313: "Like Gilgames and other old gods of productivity, he [Lugalbanda] came to occupy a prominent position in myth and legend, thanks to the annual celebration of his adventures in mimetic fertility rites." See especially the quotation at the beginning of note 54 on p. 23 below.

[1] *Das Gilgamesch-Epos und die Odyssee*, published by Prof. A. Ungnad in his series Kulturfragen, 4/5. Breslau, 1923.

[2] *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, Philadelphia, 1917.

and printed by them along with the other tablet (Yale tablet) which seems to have been No. III of this recension.[3]

Our interest focuses in the first place on the episode of the hairy man, Enkidu,[4] and the woman which was related on Tablets I and II of this old text, for it represents the most ancient literary version of the Oriental tradition outlined on page 12 above.

Tablet I (not extant) may possibly have contained a story of the origin of Enkidu (his creation from clay?); it must have told how the woman was brought to the beast-man, who dwelt with his cattle in a remote retreat on or near the mountains, and how she seduced him and led him away to her city which was ruled by the great king, Gish (Gilgamesh).[5]

Tablet II (Pennsylvania) contained in 240 lines the second part of the episode of the woman and the hairy man (after the seduction).

At the beginning two dreams of Gish are interpreted by his wise divine mother, Ninsun, to mean that "someone who like thee in the field was born[6] and whom the mountain has reared" (i.e. Enkidu) is to be affectionately associated with him.[7] Then it is told how Enkidu had sat before the woman who seduced him, "forgot the place where he was born" and stayed with her six days and seven nights. This woman likened him to a god and asked why he roamed with the cattle, begging him to let her lead him to Eanna, the holy temple of Anu in Uruk (Erech)[8] where Gish, the great king, would welcome him.

"Come, arise from the ground that is cursed!"
He heard her word and accepted her speech.
The counsel of the woman entered his heart.
She stripped off a garment, clothed him with one,
another garment she kept on herself.[9]

She led Enkidu by the hand to the sheepfolds. Here he, accustomed to suck milk, had to be taught to eat and drink the products of cultivation, bread and wine. He took hold right lustily; on the invitation to

"Drink wine, the custom of the land,"

he promptly disposed of seven cups of it:

[3] *Yale Oriental Series*, Researches, IV, 3, New Haven, 1920. A. Ungnad, op. cit., translates the most important passages in parallel columns with corresponding parts of the younger, or Late Akkadian, version. I regret that I was unable to examine V. Domke's recent Berlin dissertation, *Die zweite und dritte Tafel des Gilgameschepos in altbabylonischer Rezension*, 1924. Of this study only a few typewritten copies were made and these were deposited with the University of Berlin.

[4] Enki-du means 'Enki (god of the earth) has built,' i.e., created, begotten [the child]. Cf. also Jastrow-Clay, p. 24, and Clay, *The Empire of the Amorites*, New Haven, 1919, pp. 85f. Enkidu (some give it Engidu) is the Shumerian reading, Eabani the reading as a Semitic name.

[5] On the name see Jastrow-Clay, pp. 23ff.

[6] "Born on the field" was said of Enkidu in the younger version which represented him as being created from clay.

[7] See W. F. Albright, "Gilgames and Enkidu, Mesopotamian Genii of Fecundity," *Journ. Am. Oriental Soc.* 40, 307ff.

[8] Cf. Gen. 10, 10.

[9] Lines 62-70, Jastrow-Clay, p. 64.

His spirit was loosened, he became hilarious,
his heart became glad and his face shone.[10]

Then he seems to have been well shorn or shaved and also anointed with oil:

He became manlike. He put on a garment,
he was like a man. He took his weapon;
lions he attacked (so that) the night-shepherds could rest.
He plunged the dagger,[11] lions he overcame.
The great [shepherds] lay down; Enkidu was their protector.[12]

Thus Enkidu, who had been the guardian of wild animal-life, now became the protector of the tame.

After a break in the tablet we find a man, Gish or another,[13] urging the harlot, when Enkidu comes near, to lure away her burly charge.[14] She remonstrates and then follows a moralizing speech, delivered apparently by this man to Enkidu, on family life, work, laying up resources, and cleaving unto the legitimate wife.[15]

Enkidu now stalked into Uruk, with the woman behind him. The men gathered and admired him:

"Like the form of Gish he is suddenly become,"[16]

only somewhat shorter in stature. He became a leader, godlike in appearance, a rival to Gish.

The tablet ends with a mighty struggle between Gish and Enkidu. The latter blocked a gate with his foot, not permitting Gish to enter. They fought like oxen, demolishing the threshold and damaging the wall as they struggled around, but finally Enkidu held Gish down until "his breast was quieted." Then Enkidu comforted his rival with the assurance:

"As a unique one thy mother bore thee . . .
Ninsun has exalted thy head above men.
Kinship over men Enlil has decreed for thee."[17]

The Yale tablet, III, recites the preparations for the expedition of Gish and Enkidu, now companions, to the Cedar Forest, where lurks the fire-belching giant

Ḫuwawa,[18] whose roar is a flood,
whose mouth is a fire, whose breath is death.[19]

Enkidu knew the way thither, for he had discovered it once in the days when he was living with his cattle.

The younger Gilgamesh Epic, or **Late Akkadian recension,** also referred to as the Assyrian or Ninivite recension, exists only in a late Assyrian form. It consisted of twelve tablets, but those so far recovered, belonging to

[10] Lines 99f., op. cit. p. 65. One is reminded of the mighty eater and *soma*-drinker, the Indian god of thunder-storms and rain, Indra (cf. also Thor).

[11] Ungnad translates 'verfertigte (?) die Wölfe.'

[12] Lines 105-114.

[13] Jastrow-Clay, pp. 78f.

[14] Ungnad, op. cit. p. 12, just the opposite, 'bring herbei (?) den Menschen.'

[15] But Ungnad, ibid., declares this is "noch recht unklar" and that Jastrow's translation of these lines is "gänzlich verfehlt."

[16] Line 179.

[17] Lines 234-240.

[18] Humbaba in later texts.

[19] Lines 109ff.

several different copies, are in a more or less damaged state.[20] The episode we are concerned with in particular is nearly all found on Tablet I.[21]

It relates that the hand of Gilgamesh, a hero "two-thirds divine, one-third human," rested heavily upon his city of Uruk. The gods hearkened to the distress of his people and appealed to the creating goddess, Aruru.

Aruru washed her hands, broke off the clay,
threw it on the field
. . . created Enkidu, the hero,
a lofty offspring of the host of Urta.[22]

Enkidu was to be a worthy rival of Gilgamesh who would divert the attention of the restless king, thus affording the harrassed people some relief. Then follows a description of Enkidu:

covered with hair was his whole body,
he wore the hair of his head like a woman;
his flowing hair was luxuriant like that of Nisaba.[23]
Ignorant was he of people and the land.
He was clothed with garments like the god Shumuqan.[24]
With the gazelles he ate herbs,
with the cattle he slaked his thirst at the water-hole,
with the teeming water-creatures was his heart delighted.[25]

[20] A convenient translation of the large and small fragments of this recension by A. Ungnad, with references to the literature and with a commentary by H. Gressmann, was published in Göttingen, 1911, with the title *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*; a later translation of the main parts by Ungnad in his *Religion der Babylonier und Assyrer*, Jena, 1921. There are frequent references to the Assyrian redaction in Jastrow-Clay's edition of the old Babylonian version mentioned above. Cf. also the analysis in P. Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur*, 1, 1-54, and in R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the O.T.*, N. Y., 1912, pp. 80-103.

[21] H. Gressmann was the first, so far as I know, to mention the medieval Christian legend of the penitent hairy anchorite in connection with Enkidu; in Ungnad-Gressmann, *Gilg.-Epos*, p. 94, n. 1, he referred to a reprint (in R. Benz. *Alte Deutsche Legenden*, Jena, 1910) of the German version from *Der Heiligen Leben* (but without calling attention to Luther's reprint, from some edition of that source, as *Die Lügend von S. Johanne Chrysostomo*).

[22] This form of the name has been adopted, for instance by Prof. A. T. Olmstead, for Ninurta or Ninib. The translation of the following passages is based mostly on Ungnad's German versions.

[23] A goddess of fertility, corn-divinity. This suggests hair tawny and thick like standing grain; also taken to be a reminiscence of a sun-deity (bristly hair standing for rays), H. Schneider, *Die Entwicklung des Gilgameschepos*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 63.

[24] This has usually been taken to mean that he wore a garment of skins (Ungnad-Gressmann, pp. 87. 95) but W. F. Albright, *JAOS* 40, 320, believes the expression to be a euphemism for "naked." This is probably correct, for the Old Babylonian version told how the woman clothed Enkidu. In the younger recension the sun-god, Shamash, reminds Enkidu that "she clothed thee with a great garment," but this might imply a fine dress to fit him for association with Gilgamesh (Ungnad-Gressmann, p. 20). Shumuqan was a god of fertility, especially of the fecundity of cattle, a shepherd and guardian of animal-life, wild and tame; thus Enkidu resembles him. Cf. W. F. Albright, *JAOS* 40, 322f. etc.

[25] Prof. M. Jastrow believed that according to the old popular notion the relation of Enkidu (perhaps it would be more accurate to say Enkidu's prototype, as the god of animal fecundity) to the beasts was probably that forbidden in Exodus 22, 19. See Jastrow's article "Adam and Eve in Babylonian Literature," *Am. Journal of Semitic Langs.* 15, pp. 201.205.212, and his introduction to Jastrow-Clay, p. 39; especially W. F. Albright, *JAOS* 40, 324-328.

As the cunning protector of the wild animals he destroyed the traps and filled up the pitfalls of a hunter who had found his way to this rich game-preserve. The hunter related his troubles to his father who advised him to use a woman to ensnare Enkidu.[26] The hunter went to Gilgamesh who repeated the advice. Then the man took away with him a harlot and set out on a journey with her to Enkidu's watering-place, arriving there on the third day. They waited a day without seeing the beast-man, but on the day following came Enkidu, "whose home was in the mountains." The woman was successful in beguiling the sensuous Enkidu who tarried with her six days and seven nights. Then he

. . . turned his countenance toward his cattle.
Scarcely did they see Enkidu when the gazelles scurried away,
the cattle of the field shrank back before him.
Then was Enkidu amazed, as though charmed was his body,
his knees grew stiff as his cattle fled from him.
Enkidu tempered his spirit, not as aforetime was his vehemence,
and he hearkened, opened his ears.
He turned about and seated himself at the feet of the woman,
looking into her countenance,
and while she spake his ears did listen.
She said to him, to Enkidu,
"Fair art thou, Enkidu, like a god art thou.
Why dost thou with the teeming beasts hasten away o'er the field?
Come, I will lead thee into the enclosed city of Uruk,
to the glorious house, the dwelling of Anu and Ishtar,
where dwelleth Gilgamesh unique in strength
and like a wild bull mightily ruleth the people."[27]
She spake to him until her words were agreeable to him;
knowing his own heart,[28] a friend he sought.

Enkidu declared his willingness to follow her then. In the next fragmentary lines he asserted in rising confidence:

"I myself will challenge him . . .
I will shout in Uruk, 'Verily I am a mighty one,
I . . . alter fate . . .
Born on the field, mighty in power!

The Arcadian satyr-shepherd, Pan (who has not a few traits in common with Enkidu), as the god of both wild and tame animals guarded the flocks and increased them and seems to have been conceived as mating with them (P. R. Knight, *Worship of Priapus*, pl. 7, reproduced in Roscher, *Ausführl. Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, 3[1], 1469f.), W. F. Albright, loc. cit. p. 325. In India a religious recluse of great ascetic merit was occasionally represented as changing himself into a gazelle ("deer") or a bird to cohabit, apparently without condemnation, with like creatures, *Mahābhārata*, Book 1, Ganguli's translation, Calcutta, P. C. Roy, 1893, pp. 343ff. (Kiminadama), p. 635 (Mandapāla). Of certain peoples, such as the Ukrainians and Southern Slavs, it is said at the present time, "Sodomie gilt beim Volke nicht als Sünde oder gar Verbrechen," *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 14, 307.

[26] In Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Life of Alexander*, 2, ch. 33, it is related that Alexander in the wilds of Media found countless wild men with bodies covered with thick hair. He attempted to catch one, using a naked woman as a lure, but the ogre promptly devoured her. A. Ausfeld, *Der griechische Alexanderroman*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 82. On the Gilgamesh Epic and the romance of Alexander cf. Ungnad-Gressmann, pp. 152f. 171f. 183-185.

[27] This speech is very similar in the old version, Jastrow-Clay, pp. 63f., lines 51-61.

[28] Or: a (man) who knows his heart (?).

[O Gilgamesh], I would [behold] thy countenance!
[all that] will be I know of a truth!' "

They proceeded to Uruk where Enkidu seems to have been welcomed. Tablet I closes with the two dreams of Gilgamesh who is ready to meet Enkidu.

Tablet II must have told how the woman gave Enkidu "food such as befits only a deity, and wine fit only for a king" and "clothed him with a great garment," training him for association with the king.[29]

There is a fragment in which Enkidu curses the woman with a great curse for enticing him away "from his field," but the sun-god, Shamash, reminds him of her real services to him and Enkidu is appeased.[30]

In another fragment Enkidu seems to have had dreams of a descent into the lower world.[31]

The Assyrian version must have related the encounter between Enkidu and Gilgamesh, and the joint expedition against Humbaba. Gilgamesh repulsed the advances of Ishtar who then induced Anu to send from heaven a fierce bull against him. The two heroes, however, slew this beast and brought upon themselves the curse of the goddess. Enkidu soon fell sick and "the fate of mankind overtook him"—he "became earth" and his spirit went to dwell with those of men in the nether world.

Tablets IX-XII are devoted to the now wretched fate of Gilgamesh and introduce the Deluge-hero who, as has already been suggested, will take a place near the old beast-like fertility-hero as a figure of importance for the development of our Christian legends.

Gilgamesh mourned his young friend, "the panther of the field," six days and nights' Smitten with disease himself, the king became anxious about his own end—even though he were "two-thirds divine." Therefore he started on a long and difficult journey in search of his deified ancestor, Ut-napishtim,[32] from whom he might learn the secret of obtaining renewed life, even immortality. He came to Mount Mashu, where sky and earth meet and where the sun's gate was guarded by a "scorpion-giant" and his spouse. They indicated to him a gloomy passage never yet travelled by a mortal. Here the once proud king, now fearsome, sick, trying to cover his emaciated body with skins of beasts, groped his dreary way twelve "double hours" through utter darkness. Gilgamesh finally came out of the passage at the garden of the gods wherein were trees laden with gems and corals in the place of fruits. He repeated his tale of woe here to the wise goddess of life, Siduri Sabitu.[33] She could only refer him to Ur-shanabi, the boatman of Ut-napishtim.

[29] Ungnad-Gressmann, p. 20, lines 30-32; Jastrow-Clay, p. 59.

[30] Ungnad-Gressmann, pp. 19f. P. Jensen believed that Enkidu had returned to the desert for a time and that Shamash revealed himself to him there, *Das Gilg.-Epos in der Weltlit.* 1, 8, n. 2. If this should be the case it would amount to a relapse into his beast-like state, and represent a "paradise-journey" to the sun-god; it would be a tradition that might leave its traces on the early Christian legends. But the extant tablets of the old recension of the epic do not contain anything corresponding to all this. [Prof. Jensen now gives up this view in his latest pamphlet, *Gilgamesch-Epos*, etc., '24, p. 8, n. 3.]

[31] Ungnad-Gressmann, pp. 20-22. 91f.

[32] Also called Atrahasis: "Two widely different stories had been incorporated into the epic, one from Shuruppak, whose hero was Atrahasis, the other centering about Pir-napishtim [Ut-napishtim] of Sippar." A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p. 586.

[33] Cf. W. F. Albright, "The Goddess of Life and Wisdom," *AJSL* 36, 258-294, who discusses traditions of the nymph Siduri (Sirtur) and her vineyard-paradise. He regards her as a prototype to some extent of Eve (see below).

Gilgamesh and the boatman proceeded from here to the abode of Ut-napishtim. The voyage (cf. the "paradise-journey"), which might be expected to require forty-five days, was accomplished by the wonder-ship at such marvellous speed that they arrived at the Waters of Death in only three days. They finally threw a bridge over this flood and Gilgamesh—in this part much like a *Märchen*-figure—found himself in a paradise "at the mouth [=source, W. F. Albright] of the rivers," where with his spouse dwelt Ut-napishtim, the Flood-hero, who had not died but had had eternal life bestowed on him by the gods. Ut-napishtim told his story of the Deluge[34] and finally revealed that the magic herb which would renew an aged man's youth was growing deep down in the waters. Gilgamesh obtained the herb, but later while he was bathing, a serpent, the creature of the underworld, snatched it away from him.[35] Nothing then remained but for the boatman to conduct Gilgamesh back to his city of Uruk. The king's heartrending quest for life (rejuvenescence) and for immortality was all in vain.

But Gilgamesh kept striving on after knowledge of the future state. The twelfth tablet relates how he conjured up from Aralu, merciless Nergal's underworld, the shade of Enkidu for a profitless conversation about the spirit-life: escape from death was not granted even to the most powerful of men.[36]

The story of the beguiling of the beast-man had a long history before it appeared in the *Sagenkomplex* of the epic. For back of the episode of Enkidu and the woman lay one of the widespread, once ritualistic traditions of the seduction of the mythical god or hero of fertility by a mortal woman containing the idea that upon their union would follow rain, or increase in vegetation, in flocks and herds—blessings for the whole people.[37]

The epic itself, even in the old form of four thousand years ago, was an artistic production, a work of the *literati*; it used much of popular tradition but we cannot look for it to reproduce this unaltered. There was a king, Gish-Gilgamesh, whose tyranny was to be curbed, but whose greatness was to be magnified.[38] The superhuman beast-man, chief in a sort of paradise

[34] Translations of this are numerous: G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*,[3] 273ff.; appendix to A. T. Clay, *A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform*; R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the O.T.*, N. Y., 1912, pp. 90-102; Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the O.T.*, 1, 113ff.

[35] W. F. Albright, *AJSL* 35, 194. The plant of life (given, not snatched away by a serpent) and a magically swift boat in Grimms' tale *Die drei Schlangenblätter*, Bolte-Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, 1, 128ff.

[36] "Der faustische Zug," which Ungnad finds in the epic, is particularly prominent here: Gilgamesh does not follow the advice (*carpe diem*) of Siduri preserved in a fragment of the old redaction, but "forscht und strebt weiter zur Erkenntnis und muss schliesslich doch einsehen, dass das Resultat negativ ist." *Das Gilg.-Epos u. die Odyssee*, p. 4, see also p. 7.

[37] Cf. W. F. Albright on the myth of the god of fruitfulness, Shumuqan, *JAOS* 40, 320ff., esp. 331.

[38] Prof. A. T. Clay, *The Origin of Biblical Traditions*, New Haven, 1923, pp. 26.28, regards Tammuz and Ashirta (Ishtar), the Amorite Humbaba and Gilgamesh ("the successor of Tammuz") as historical royal personages, flourishing about 4200 B.C. and earlier, some of whom were deified after death. [Recently denied by Barton, *JAOS* 45, 19ff.] For the legend-adorned Enkidu, too, he suggests a historical basis, as did Prof. M. Jastrow with reference to the exploits with Gilgamesh (Jastrow-Clay, p. 46, cf. 25.32.52f.). It is reasonable that mythical elements should have been connected with Gilgamesh if he, at least, was a historical figure. The notion of the seduction of the god of fertility might well have gone back to a much earlier period than his time; it could originate early among peoples who had got the idea of seeking supernatural aid for the increase of herds and crops.

of animals, was brought to the lord of a realm of men, just as in the tradition at the base of the epic. The idea that his coming was for the benefit of the people was kept in the epic, but now explained (at least in the completer recension) as means of relief from an oppressive ruler—no longer as a means of bringing or renewing fertility. The new hero did not destroy the king, however, but became his worthy companion in exploits too difficult for even the latter to perform alone.

But the beast-man of the epic still shows plain traces of a hero of fertility.[39] The statements of both redactions that he was born on the field (pages 14, 16 and 17 above) are significant in this connection. The later text still speaks of his shock of luxuriant hair like that of the divinity of grain. His own appearance and his association with animals in the remote retreat speak for his identification with a genius of fecundity.

It has been suggested that Enkidu "embodies probably a tradition of the first man";[40] also that the story of this figure, even as an original god of fertility, is associated in the Gilgamesh Epic "with the motive of the creation of the first man."[41] There are, indeed, ancient traditions of the creation and of the seduction of the first man by his mate which could enter readily into combination with the tale of the seduction of the hairy beast-man—so, it seems, in the story of Adam and Eve (see section III below). Furthermore, traditions of the first man are frequently more or less closely associated with those of the Flood-hero (e.g. Adam and Noah, the one at the beginning, the other at the end of the antediluvian period); from this point of view Enkidu would take the place of a "first man" in the epic—which also contains the history of the Deluge. Then there is the creation from clay which is the strongest reminder in the Enkidu story of the first of human kind.[42] But these considerations would scarcely justify

[39] See particularly W. F. Albright, *JOAS* 40, 322, who quotes from another ancient source: "Enkidu who makes abundant the irrigating ditches and canals for the herbage, who causes the sesame (?) to grow."

[40] M. Jastrow, *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, N. Y., 1914, p. 209.

[41] W. F. Albright, *JAOS* 40, 330.

[42] Creation from clay need not imply the origin of the *first man* only. In Gen. the beasts and birds were formed "from the ground." Fragmentary lines found by the Germans in Babylonia tell how Ea pinched off clay and created the *brick-god*; he continued creating and produced gods of several other trades, building materials, mountains and seas, the high priest, the king, and men, apparently all from clay, (A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Test. im Lichte des Alten Orients*,[3] p. 17).The Egyptian god, Khnemu or Chnum, (human in form but with a ram's head), molded men from clay, (see for instance E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, London, 1904, 2, 49ff, A. Jeremias, op. cit. p. 25). Since we do not have the first tablet of the Old Babylonian version we cannot be sure that recension contained the creation from clay; it does speak of Enkidu, however, as "born in the field," as does the younger redaction, too, (references above). There is a certain appropriateness in having a fertility-hero, especially one who is to return to earth like a human being, created from earth, but maybe after all the motive was foreign to the tradition of the beast-like fertility-hero. It may be possible that once,

an assumption that the beast-like Enkidu of the epic is to be regarded as a "first man;" perhaps only those who see in his story primarily an etiological myth—one that answers practical questions about the origins of human culture—would go so far as to call him that.[43]

Again, Prof. Morris Jastrow once wrote regarding Enkidu, "If not actually the first man he is certainly a most primitive man,"[44] and more than once he asserted or implied that Enkidu was *in origin* a primeval man or savage.[45] This theory can be modified by the recognition that in folk-tradition *outside of the epic* this figure had been represented as a beast-man, standing for a genius, even for a partly theriomorphic god, of fertility. The primitive tradition might have suggested something of a humanizing process through which the beast-man passed as he associated with the woman, her people and her king. But that must have been greatly elaborated in the epic, where Enkidu had to be trained up as a worthy companion of the greatest of rulers. We are amazed as we witness the evidently rapid taming of Enkidu in the old epic from the time when, finding a more suitable mate in the woman, "he awakes to the sense of human dignity"[46] and leaves his former beast-companions behind him. We see how "the meeting of Enkidu with the woman becomes the medium of impressing the lesson of human progress through the substitution of bread and wine for milk and water, through the institution of the family, and through work and the laying up of resources."[47] We can admit the probability of this without emphasizing the didactic purpose of it all quite so strongly as Professor Jastrow and others have done in discussions of the etiological sections of both versions of the epic. In the epic it must have been a matter of

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as in some Babylonian and Hindu parallels, the beast-man was conceived as the offspring of a divinity or hero with intimate solar connections and of a beast-mother (a hypothetical form *x*), and that the Gilgamesh Epic rejected this origin in favor of one borrowed from creation-stories. W. F. Albright, *Journ. of Biblical Lit.* 37, 117, says, "Several Asiatic gods or heroes of fecundity were born of animal mothers," and he mentions Gira-Shakan as the son of Shamash (Sun) and of a gazelle; he gives another instance in *JAOS* 40, 329. It would accordingly seem less reasonable to assume that the story of Enkidu and the woman (E) depended upon a variant (*y*) of the popular tradition in which the fertility-hero had been divinely created from clay.

[43] Of the two scholars just quoted Prof. Albright does not mean that, but Prof. Jastrow seems to have come rather near to that idea. A. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 97, feels impelled to declare: "Vom Urmenschen ist hier nicht die Rede." H Th. Obbink, *Het Bijbelsch Paradijsverhaal*, Utrecht, 1917, pp. 35.81f.83, is very firm in the opinion that Enkidu is not to be regarded as the "first man," or even as a type or representative of man.

[44] *AJSL* 15, 200.

[45] In Jastrow-Clay, *The Old Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, p. 40, he suggests that the figure of Enkidu rests on "traditions of the condition under which men lived in primeval days prior to the beginnings of human culture"; p. 20, " . . . originally an independent tale to illustrate the evolution of man's career and destiny." We should assume that the latter purpose was more evident in the epic than in the independent tradition of the hero of fertility.

[46] Jastrow-Clay, p. 20.

[47] Op. cit. p. 40.

no small interest in itself to hear how this one hulking, shaggy beast-man was made like a real man and fit to become the associate of the king. In the older redaction this humanizing process was not without its elements of humor.

We observe then (1) that in popular tradition the prototype of Enkidu was represented not as the "first man," not as a "primitive man," not as a full human being, but primarily as a god or hero of fertility, resembling a man more or less but at least of partly different origin—a beast-man; (2) that the fertility rites or popular legend, and the epic as well, presupposed a world of men to which the beast-like hero was lured. As was intimated above, the epic with its marked tendency to account for this and that probably conceived Enkidu pretty largely as a man of nature, a primeval man, developing into a real human. But in doing so it would exhibit the inconsistency of having a "primitive man" on the same stage with civilized men, including a hunter and his father, a woman and a king (even though the latter were only "one third human").[48]

The Enkidu of the epic apparently differed from a man in appearance mainly in the coat of hair over his body. Traditions existed, however, which conceived what was possibly the fertility-hero model of this figure as part beast; some representations on seals show a creature, who may be this old fertility-hero, with hoofs and even with horns like those of a buffalo.[49] Thus the satyrs, Pan, Silenus, fauns, and the "wild men of the woods" of European folk-traditions,[50] are in a class with Enkidu's original, if less directly so with that epic-hero himself. In the story of Nebuchadnezzar and in certain Christian versions of our legend the hairy solitary walks on

[48] There would be no such inconsistency in the primitive tradition. There the beast-man, whose purpose it was to bring fruitfulness, was not a representative of early human culture, and he could appear as contemporaneous with civilized man. Prof. Jastrow, in Jastrow-Clay, p. 46, n. 111, explained the contradiction in the *epic* by stating that the introduction of inconsistent features is "characteristic of folk-tales." True enough, but it was more likely the artistic epic that introduced *these* inconsistent features. While referring to the Enkidu of the seduction-tale in the epic as a type of primitive savage, Prof. Jastrow also spoke of him as an "animal man," (op. cit. pp. 41f.44.46), but without connecting him with the old popular hero of fertility. Not taking the parallels into account, he overlooked the fact that one can expect a king too as one of the regular persons of the story. The beast-man becomes the king's friend, maybe even his son-in-law, although it is only in the Gilgamesh Epic that they join in a series of great exploits, reminding one of the "Heavenly Twins" (op. cit. p. 54; similarly W. F. Albright, *JAOS* 40, 320). For the Enkidu of these exploits with Gilgamesh Prof. Jastrow suggested a historical basis (op. cit. p. 46, cf. 25.32.52f.), thus separating him from the Enkidu of the seduction-story.

[49] W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Washington, 1910, ch. X, pp. 59-75: "Gilgamesh, Eabani, and the Divine Bull," also pp. 172.378f. Mr. Ward's identifications of the figures he takes for Gilgamesh and Eabani (Enkidu) may not be altogether trustworthy.

[50] Cf. Adolf Spamer, "Die wilden Leute in Sage und Bild," in *Volkskunst und Volkskunde* 9 (Munich, 1911), 117-123. *Märchen*-motives are evident in the Gilgamesh Epic, see Gressmann in Ungnad-Gressmann, *Das Gilg.-Epos*, and Fr. von der Leyen, *Das Märchen*,[2] Leipzig, 1917, pp. 44.68. 91-96.

all fours. It is possible that in some form of the popular tradition a prototype of Enkidu—if not Enkidu himself—may have been conceived as assuming that position in eating and drinking with his cattle.

Enkidu's development in the epic has been regarded as a reflection of the optimistic point of view of the Babylonian (as contrasted with Gen. 3). The woman is the means of leading the beast-man away from his "cursed ground" to a higher life.[51] But the matter seems to have had another side. In the younger epic we find Enkidu cursing the woman because she had lured him from his former blissful life (cf. p. 18 above). Professor D. D. Luckenbill remarks that "Semitic humor is apt to be grim and biting" when he considers how "the author of the Gilgamesh Epic has a harlot introduce Engidu, the man of nature, into the amenities of civilization."[52] And the untimely return to the original clay of Gilgamesh's "young friend," who had so recently learned the ways of man, did offer food for reflection.

It is not clear what the fate of the beast-man in the traditions outside of the epic might have been. Maybe he was not represented as returning to his old haunts to stay (as in the Hindu legend of Rishyasringa below), but as dying among the men who caused him to be lured to them that he might bring blessings of increase.[53] In the younger recension of the epic Enkidu was divinely created for the definite purpose of relieving the suffering people of Uruk and died when it was accomplished.

The substance of our beast-man tradition was, we take it, a subject for annual celebration in Western Asia[54] (see page 13 above). But it might also have had an ultimate association with a cult-myth cycle based on popular celebrations of seasonal changes (bringing the god of fertility, drying-up of vegetation as the "death of Tammuz," weakening of the sun, and so forth, through all the year, ending, let us say, with the full flood of the rains or of the fertilizing inundations). Such seasonal changes represented, as it were, the ever repeated epic of the people's annual struggle for sustenance. When myths and cult-legends appropriate

[51] Jastrow-Clay, pp. 44f.

[52] *AJSL* 38, 13.

[53] Cf. the spirit of vegetation or the corn-god who dies and is re-born annually, the myths of Tammuz, Adonis, etc. (see J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*). Enkidu, too, dies soon after a battle with a beast (A. Loisy, *Les mythes babyloniens*, Paris, 1901, p. 119).

[54] Prof. W. F. Albright doubtless includes this in his statement, "As the seduction of the male is a very common motive in the cult-legends of the Oriental gods of fertility, we may safely assume that the theme was once the subject of mimetic representation in Babylonia," *JAOS* 40, 330; cf. also p. 313, quoted in note 14 to p. 13 above. L. von Schroeder made out a case for such popular mimetic fertility-rites at the summer solstice in connection with the parallel Hindu myths, cf. his *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda* and our discussion of the Hindu traditions below. Dramatic representations at the New Year (vernal equinox) may not have involved traditions connected with our legend, but they are well established for Babylonia, cf. H. Zimmern, Sächs. Ges. der Wissenschaften, *Berichte*, phil.-hist. Kl., vol. 58, 126ff., vol. 70, Heft. 5.

to those phenomena arose, it is not inconceivable that their substance might be utilized in a single literary epic, reflecting events of the whole annual cycle. This the Gilgamesh Epic, beginning with the origin and seduction of the beast-man, relating his exploits and his death, the weakening of his sun-like companion, Gilgamesh, and with a Flood-hero near the end, may accomplish in part.[55]

Possibly because of ancient association in the fixed sequence of an annual myth-cycle, stories of other "paradise-journeys" appear in a not too remote connection with the tale of the seduction of the one-time fertility-hero Enkidu. In the analysis of our epic (pages 18f. above) we noticed such journeys in those of Gilgamesh to the goddess Siduri Sabitu and to the Flood-hero, Ut-napishtim (Atrahasis). We refer again to such traditions, for they, too, must be kept in mind as parallels to the early Christian legends which are to be considered later.

We cannot leave the Gilgamesh Epic without noting contrasts between Enkidu and Ut-napishtim. The one, derived from a beast-like god of fertility, left his animal associates in his isolated haunt to follow a courtezan out into man's world, there to become a man and to die a man's death; the other, among men a man, became fit to leave without dying the world of men and to dwell (with his spouse) in a paradise of the gods.

The country that was, or came to be, the land of the East and Northwest Semites was a most important center—a "relaying station," if not the original "broadcasting station"—for traditions of the beast-like hero of fruitfulness. Similar material had very probably long been current also among the Hindus, even in Vedic times. Although a connection between these traditions and those of Western Asia may not be clear, it is still possible.[56]

[55] Prof. W. F. Albright writes me, "It is very probable that we have fragments of elaborate cult-myth cycles in the Gilgames Epic." The younger epic, at any rate, had also other aspects. It was divided into 12 tablets as if on a zodiacal basis (Tablet XI with the Deluge-story representing Aquarius); but A. Ungnad, *Gilgamesch-Epos und Odyssee*, Breslau, 1923, p. 30, claims this division corresponded to the 12 "double hours" of the day. Cf. P. Jensen, *Das Gilmagesch-Epos in der Weltlit.* 1, 102ff., who holds to the cosmic origin of the substance of the younger recension; it was read in the main from the stars and constellations, and the parts which might have correspondences with events on earth in the daily or annual course of the sun he regards as secondary. Herm. Schneider emphasizes more strongly the original connections of the myths with the annual course of the sun as affecting the development of vegetation on earth (*Die Entwicklung des Gilgameschepos*, pp. 63f. 75). A. Drews, *Der Sternhimmel*, etc., Jena, 1923, pp. 127-140, gives an interpretation of the epic from the standpoint of astral mythology (no mention of the Old Akkadian version!).—A. Ehrenzweig, *Zs. f. d. Alttest. Wiss.* 38, pp. 82f. 85, believes that the history of the patriarchs or kings before the Flood (Hebrew, Babylonian) had once been made into a series of cult- or festival-legends corresponding to the months.—The sources are too scanty to give an adequate idea of how popular representations of cult-legends might have differed from time to time in various centers of population.

[56] W. F. Albright is convinced of the Mesopotamian origin of the Indian forms of these tales, *JAOS* 40, 331 (on the "myth of Shumuqan").

II

THE LEGEND OF RISHYASRINGA IN INDIA

The solitary beast-man of the ancient traditions had a tendency to coalesce with the holy man, the religious recluse. That beast-man was in popular belief not a creature inferior to man, but rather one with supernatural characteristics—ultimately a hero or a god of fertility and sometimes significantly brought into close relationship with a solar deity. The notion of such a god of fruitfulness may go back "to early pre-anthropomorphic days before man had cut the ties that bound him to other animals."[1] The conception, too, of the holy man as a hairy man, at least with uncut hair and beard, is found among many peoples (cf. the Hebrew Nazirites and the Brahman *vānaprastha*, 'forest-hermit' below).[2] The anchorite—of necessity hairy, and so often with beasts as companions—could in his charmed life of chastity very naturally be associated with the old superhuman beast-man who in his remote haunt had at first known no woman.

Whatever the reasons might have been, there was brought about among the Hindus, possibly centuries before the Christian era, in one group of traditions in particular a complete transference of the characteristics of the beast-like hero of productivity to the religious solitary. This was in the stories of the horned hermit, usually called Rishyasringa ('Gazelle-horn').[3] Here the holy youth, in the same way as his primitive counterpart, was mated with a woman in what was once very likely a ceremony for the promotion of rainfall and fertility.

However, before taking up the Rishyasringa-legend, it may be well to consider certain phases of Hindu asceticism that will be important by way of comparison with Christian conditions, even if not as a fully pertinent commentary on our Indian legend itself.

Brahman holy law, by about the end of the Vedic period,[4] recognized four orders, modes of life or ascetic stages (*āśramas*, 'hermitages') for every Ārya[5] to pass through—in theory at least. They were that of the (1) student, or celibate disciple (*brahmacārin*), studying as long as twelve years

[1] Miss Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 651 (of Pan).

[2] On the sanctity of hair "as a soul-power or strength" see E. W. Hopkins, *Origin and Evolution of Religion*, New Haven, 1924, 115-128.

[3] His beast-like character is indicated by a horn on his head rather than by a hairy body. The sanctity of the man with horns like a beast, as well as that of the hairy man, may have some of its roots in early theriolatry. See I. Scheftelowitz in "Das Hörnermotiv in den Religionen," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 15 (1912), 451-487. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, 2, 1 (1905), 131ff.; 2, 2 (1906), 283ff.

[4] *The Laws of Manu*, ch. 2ff. (Sacred Books of the East, vol. 25, p. 43ff.); much similar matter in the *Mahābhārata*; cf. the articles in Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* on Asceticism (Hindu), *āśrama*, and Brahmanism.

[5] Member of the Brahman caste and of the other two highest of the four estates.

in the house of his preceptor; (2) married householder (*gṛhastha*), who looked after the prescribed sacrifices and who was superior in some respects to the rest since he supported the other three orders and since only for him was, in theory, procreation of offspring possible; (3) hermit (*vānaprastha*), meditating profoundly and performing sacrifices and penances in the forest; and (4) wandering ascetic (*sannyāsin*), who in advanced age was to cast off everything and become a homeless religious mendicant, wandering in poverty and in silence and applying his mind to the attainment of "emancipation" (or release from rebirths) and union with the Eternal (*brahma*, or Bramā).

Compared with the Christian hermits, the third order, that of the hermit of the forest, is of interest. On the approach of old age (in later practice) the *vānaprastha* was to abandon all his belongings and depart into the jungle. This forest-anchorite, or hermit-sage, coming from the order of householder might either leave his wife behind or have her accompany him.[6] In the second and fourth orders the householder and the mendicant ascetic had to keep hair and beard cut or shaven and his nails clipped, but *the forest hermit was required to let all these and the hair on his body grow*. Little wonder if he became beast-like in appearance. The hair of his head was bound up in braids[7] or matted together with the sap of the banyan tree. As a covering for his body he wore an animal-skin, rags, or a garment of bark. He used no food raised by cultivation but lived on wild vegetables, roots, moss, flowers, fallen fruits and leaves, etc. When he slept he might do so on the bare ground, exposing himself to heat in summer (from the "five fires") and to all the inclemency of other seasons. His duties were to study the sacred texts, keep kine for merit, perform ablutions and libations, make sacrifices, give alms according to ability, and honor his guests.

But not all Indian solitary ascetics followed this third mode of life of the Brahman system—not all were Brahmans, of course, and many were represented rather as divine than human. In many stories, particularly those dealing with early conditions, ascetics were referred to as Brahmacārins (chaste disciples), but they had retired to solitude, perhaps for life, and apparently lived about like other hermits. Some of these were women or even girls.

"With senses subdued," "with mind and passions under control," some hermits adopted rigid vows. They observed silence or deprived them-

[6] The hermit was to observe chastity, but if he continued wedded life in the forest there was not the same emphasis on continence that appears in Christian tales of married ascetics, such as Jerome's *Vita Malchi monachi captivi*. See *Mahābhārata*, Bk. 13, ch. 142 (K. M. Ganguli's transl., Anuçasana parva, Calcutta, P. C. Roy, 1893, p. 646).

[7] "The twist or braid keeps off spirits generally, as do knots, and for this reason the Hindus are very particular to wear their hair in braids." E. W. Hopkins, *Origin and Evolution of Religion*, New Haven, 1924, pp. 124ff.

selves of sleep, afflicting themselves with severe austerities until they fairly "made the heavens hot by their penances."[8] One finds in the *Mahābhārata*, for instance, extraordinary tales of self-mortification, practised by human and superhuman ascetics. King Yayāti became a forest recluse, and ate fruits and roots for a time. After a thousand years (!) in the jungle, he spent one full year living upon air alone and without sleep; still living on air alone, he stood erect for six months on one leg,—"he then ascended to heaven."[9] In Book 13, Krishna visited the paradise-like ascetic retreat, Upamanyu, on the holy mount of Himavat.[10] Some of those ascetics, it was said, subsisted on air, some on water, some on froth, some on smoke or fire only; others "by drinking only the rays of the moon" (because the moon stood for the sacred *soma* drink?); and some had taken the vow of eating and drinking like kine and gazelles (without using the hands).[11]

Indian literature contains many a tale of the temptation of the great Rishis, the legendary ancestors of the Brahman forest sages, chiefly by Apsarasas (nymphs, dancing girls, courtezans of Indra's heaven),[12] who appeared to them in their solitude. Such stories as those of the royal Rishi

[8] *Tapas*, 'devotional or ascetic fervor,' 'power through religious penance,' meant first 'warmth,' 'heat,' 'ardor.' Very severe penances are often referred to as "hot" or "scorching." —There is a remarkable text in the *Atharva Veda*, 11, 5 (ed. by M. Bloomfield, Sacred Books of the East 42, Oxford, 1897, pp. 214ff.) in which the sun is glorified as a Brahman disciple. In this the *tapas* of the *brahmacārin* has the meaning of physical heat, translated as 'creative ardor.' The "*brahmacārin*" here is altogether a primeval creative and fructifying principle: "clothed in the skin of the black antelope, consecrated with long beard,"—a phallic god "sprinkling [his] seed over the back of the earth." The notion of the divinity (here solar) of procreation and productivity could hardly be combined more strikingly with that of the religious ascetic.

[9] Bk. 1, K. M. Ganguli's transl., Calcutta, P. C. Roy, 1893, p. 260f. The ascetic penances of a woman, Ambā (Anvā), in Bk. 5, ch. 186 (188, transl., Udyoga parva, p. 539) are even more appalling. Standing for long periods of time on the toes was a common austerity of the forest sage; sometimes he was to keep quiet long enough for birds to nest in his matted locks (*Mahābh.* 12, ch. 261).

[10] Ch. 14, same transl., Anuçasana parva, pp. 54f.

[11] It is not clear whether the "gazelle's mode of life" here meant going about on hands and feet (as in the Nebuchadnezzar story and in important versions of the Christian form of our legend; cf. the Babylonian tale of Enkidu feeding with gazelles), but doubtless this was implied at times. In *Mahābhārata*, Bk. 5, ch. 119 (120), (transl., Udyoga parva, p. 348), Mādhavī, the daughter of king Yayāti, in the practice of *brahmacarya* austerities, led the "life of a wild doe" in the forest and "subsisted upon soft green grass-blades," and the waters of sacred mountain streams.

[12] Indra, in dread of being dethroned by holy men, human and superhuman, who had stored up too great a degree of ascetic merit, would send Apsarasas to tempt them into sensual enjoyments, so that they might relax their rigid austerities. Cf. the story of Triśiras in *Mahābhārata*, Bk. 5, ch. 9 (mentioned in Hastings, *Encycl.* 2, 804), those of Višvāmitra, Kaṇḍū, and even of Vibhāṇḍaka, in notes 13, 16 and 21 below.

Viśvāmitra,[13] of Cyavana,[14] of Māṇḍakarṇi,[15] and of Kaṇḍū,[16] may have some connection with the legends we are following but they do not offer complete parallels.

The most valuable of the Hindu legends for our purposes is that of **Rishyasringa,** to which we now return. It is found in the *Mahābhārata*, the

[13] The *Mahābhārata*, Bk. 1, chs. 70 ff. (Ganguli's transl., Calcutta, P. C. Roy, Adi parva, pp. 207 ff.), relates how the jealous Indra sent out the lovely Apsaras, Menakā, aided by Māruta and Manmatha, Wind and Love, to tempt one of the most powerful of the Rishis, Viśvāmitra, one of the Seven Seers of the North, "who had burnt by his penances all his sins and was still engaged in ascetic penances." Their child was the famed Śakuntalā, and she the mother of Bharata of the great epic. For the same Viśvāmitra, beguiled by the Apsaras Ghṛtācī, ten thousand years pass as a single day (*Rāmāyaṇa*, 4, 35).

[14] In some respects the most remarkable of all these tales is that of the anchorite of the anthill, in the *Mahābhārata* version, Bk. 3, ch. 122 (Ganguli's transl., Vana parva, pp. 373 ff.). During his lonely penances, Cyavana, son of one of the greatest of the legendary seers, Brgu, stood still until he became the core of an anthill, "covered all over with ants and looking like a heap of dirt." King Śaryāti, with his four thousand wives and his daughter, Sukanyā, "young, amorous, frolicsome," comes thither. As Sukanyā, disporting herself gaily in the forest, approaches the anthill, old Cyavana is filled with desire and his eyes glow. The princess, discerning nothing but the eyes which she takes for fire-flies, pricks them with a thorn. The blinded sage protests to the king and receives as his wife the princess, who thereafter remains in the forest and waits upon him. Later her saintly husband's youth was miraculously restored by a dip in the lake and the pair "passed happily their days like celestials."—This Cyavana was the same original solitary who in the practice of austerities once lived mostly in the water; thence he was drawn up in a fisherman's net and traded for a cow (*Mahābhārata*, Bk. 13, Anuçasana parva, chs. 50ff.).

[15] In *Rāmāyaṇa* 3, 11 (transl. of R. T. H. Griffith, Benares, 1915, p. 287) the gods, fearfu of the great votarist, Māṇḍakarṇi, sent five Apsarasas to draw him from his stern vows. The nymphs were so successful that the hermit, "From penance rites to *youth* renewed," built a house and kept them all. The music heard from the water at that spot is the sound of their instruments.

[16] The late *Brahma Purāṇa* contains the pathetic tale of the fall of this extraordinarily zealous ascetic, who was no doubt supposed to be a rather hairy forest anchorite. Jealous Indra sends the fair Apsaras, Pramlocā, to distract him. The god of spring and of zephyrs and Kāma (Amor), who accompany her, employ their arts to assist in the seduction, while Pramlocā sings. Kaṇḍū is completely bewildered at the ravishing loveliness of the nymph; the hair of his body fairly bristles [this said of a youth moved by joy, *JAOS* 43, 265]. For love of her he forgets his prayers, ablutions and fasts, until he remarks that he must attend to the vesper services as the day is coming to a close. Pramlocā reminds him gleefully that, not a part of a day, but nine centuries and six months (!) have passed since her arrival. The hermit understands at last that his magic power, acquired through long years of agonizing austerities, has been irretrievably lost and he can do no more than chase away his seducer. Lassen-Gildemeister, *Anthol. sanscritica*,[2] Bonn, '65, pp. 48ff., cf. H. Güntert, *Kalypso*, Halle, 1919, 147f. Translated by A. W. von Schlegel for his *Indische Bibliothek*; from his MS in *Journal Asiatique* 1 (1822), 10-16; here too is the motive of the rejuvenescence of the sage—Kaṇḍū changes himself into a beautiful youth and the nymph in her turn becomes infatuated. This Kaṇḍū was referred to in an indirect connection with the penitent hairy anchorite of the late medieval European Christian legends by A. d'Ancona, *Poemetti popolari italiani*, Bologna, 1889, p 3.

Rāmāyaṇa (I, 8-10)[17] and other Indian sources early and late, Brahmanical and Buddhistic.[18] The following outline is based upon the *Mahābhārata*, Book 3 (Vana parva), chapters 110-113.[19] It is part of a *Rahmenerzählung* in which the sage, Lomaśa, who during a pilgrimage relates many legends to his companions, tells this story to king Yudhiṣṭhira.

Vibhāṇḍaka, son of the holy Kāśyapa,[20] was a god-like saint of the Brahman caste and devoted to great religious austerities, "whose body was covered with hair down to the tips of the nails." He established himself in a remote forest hermitage near a large lake where he made sacrifices, tended sacred kine and practised penances for a long period. But on one occasion he himself was in danger of suffering (through the jealousy of Indra?[21]) a lapse from chastity as he beheld the foremost of the Apsarasas, the beautiful celestial nymph (a swan-maiden[22]), Urvaśī, by the water. One day a gazelle (in the English version a hind) drank of the water of the lake (impregnated with the seed of Vibhāṇḍaka) "and from this cause she became with child."[23] This gazelle had been a daughter of the gods and Brahma had declared of yore

[17] Cf. the transl. in verse by R. T. H. Griffith, Benares, 1915, pp. 16ff.

[18] These Indian versions are discussed by H. Lüders, "Die Sage von Ṛṣyasṛṅga," Göttinger Ges. d. Wiss., *Nachrichten*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1897, 87-135. From India Buddhistic versions of the story found their way to Tibet (in the *Kandjur*), China and Japan. Cf. L. von Schroeder, *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda*, Leipzig, 1908, 292-303; M. Winternitz, *Gesch. der indischen Lit.*, 1 (1908), 342-345.

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[20] The *Mahābhārata* also seems to indicate that Rishyasringa sprang from the seed of Kāśyapa, but consistency in such genealogies is hardly to be sought. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* version the name of the father of Vibhāṇḍaka is spelled Kaśyapa (see also Lüders, article cited, pp. 87f.); and this holy man was doubtless understood to be the same as the Kaśyapa who was the grandson of Brahmā and the father of Vivásvant, the Sun, who was the father of Manu(ṣ) and of Yamá (thus in such shifting speculations the "first man," the Deluge-hero and Rishyasringa would be grandsons of Kaśyapa), *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1, 70 and 2, 110. On the great Kaśyapa as identified with the sun, cf. M. Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, (Sacred Bks. of the East, 42), Oxford, 1897, p. 403; E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Strassburg 1915, 189f. Kaśyapa, like Viśvāmitra, was included in the list of the seven divine Rishis of old, the "Seven Seers of the North."

[21] As in the *Skānda Purāṇa* where Indra became alarmed at Vibhāṇḍaka's practice of *tapas* for 3000 years. *Ind. Antiq.* 2, 141.

[22] L. von Schroeder, *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda*, 232ff.

[23] "Whose seed never failed in causing generation" was also said Vibhāṇḍaka (Bk. 3, 110). Book 1, ch. 130 (cf. ch. 166, 1f.), of the *Mahābh.* contains the stories of the great Rishis, Śardavat and Bharadvāja, who were disturbed in their austerities at the sight of beautiful Apsarasas. From the fallen seed of the one there sprang a pair of twins, Kṛpa and Kṛpī, and from that of the other a great hero, Droṇa, who took Kṛpī to wife. A second time Bharadvāja was moved at the sight of the nymph, Ghṛtācī, and begot a daughter (yrutāvatī, who as an ascetic penitent once held her feet in the fire until they became charred, Bk. 9, Çalya parva, ch. 48). The wonderful birth of the fish-maiden, Satyavatī, mother of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, traditional compiler of the *Mahābhārata*, from the seed of a royal ascetic is related in the *Mahābh.*, Bk. 1, ch. 63. Similar stories of wondrous births in Bk. 9, chs. 38 and 51. Marvellous tales of this sort no doubt contaminated that of Vibhāṇḍaka, though in the above cases the children came into being quite without mothers, while in our story a gazelle brought forth Vibhāṇḍaka's offspring, Rishyasringa. The great Indian ascetic of old is as potent in generation as the solar fertility-hero with whom he is often more or less closely identified.

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[23] "Whose seed never failed in causing generation" was also said Vibhāṇḍaka (Bk. 3, 110). Book 1, ch. 130 (cf. ch. 166, 1f.), of the *Mahābh.* contains the stories of the great Rishis, Śardavat and Bharadvāja, who were disturbed in their austerities at the sight of beautiful Apsarasas. From the fallen seed of the one there sprang a pair of twins, Kṛpa and Kṛpī, and from that of the other a great hero, Droṇa, who took Kṛpī to wife. A second time Bharadvāja was moved at the sight of the nymph, Ghṛtācī, and begot a daughter (Śrutāvatī, who as an ascetic penitent once held her feet in the fire until they became charred, Bk. 9, Çalya parva, ch. 48). The wonderful birth of the fish-maiden, Satyavatī, mother of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, traditional compiler of the *Mahābhārata*, from the seed of a royal ascetic is related in the *Mahābh.*, Bk. 1, ch. 63. Similar stories of wondrous births in Bk. 9, chs. 38 and 51. Marvellous tales of this sort no doubt contaminated that of Vibhāṇḍaka, though in the above cases the children came into being quite without mothers, while in our story a gazelle brought forth Vibhāṇḍaka's offspring, Rishyasringa. The great Indian ascetic of old is as potent in generation as the solar fertility-hero with whom he is often more or less closely identified.

that she would be freed from the beast's form when she gave birth to a *Muni* (sage, saint). Vibhāṇḍaka recognized the child, which the gazelle had deserted, as his son. He trained him up as a most devout ascetic, "possessed of a mighty spirit, and though a boy, respected by aged men." The child had a horn on his head, hence the name Rishya-sringa (*Ṛṣya-śṛṅga*), 'Gazelle-horn'. He grew into a youth without having seen a human being except his father.

Lomapāda, the king of the land of Aṅga, had offended a Brahman, and the great god of thunder-storms, Indra, caused a drought in his land. Word was brought that Indra, jealous of the great ascetics, would cause rain to fall only if the king could get Rishyasringa to break off his intense ascetic austerities and come into the king's territory.[24] Lomapāda was advised to send women to allure the holy youth. An old courtezan prepared a wonderful floating hermitage fitted out with artificial trees adorned with fruits and flowers and all that was delightful. Then the voyage (cf. the 'paradise-journey') to the recluse was undertaken. The craft was floated to the shore of the lake and moored not far from the hut of the two saints. The woman sent forward to Rishyasringa her beautiful daughter, "a courtezan by trade and of smart sense." The girl pretended to be an ascetic penitent whose religious observance was to clasp him in her arms. Greatly impressed by her appearance, Rishyasringa offered the simple entertainment (gall-nuts, figs, etc.), which the hermits afford their guests but she accepted nothing. In turn, however, she offered him the most tempting fruits, pleasant spirituous drinks, garlands, and rich garments. She disported herself gaily before him, playing with a ball, embraced and kissed him, and finally with arch glances retired to her "hermitage", leaving the devoted Rishyasringa completely overwhelmed by strange emotions.—Old Vibhāṇḍaka returned and listened to his son who, in Parzival-like innocence, told of the wonderful "ascetic" (whom he regarded as a man): "His face was wonderful to behold . . . his speech was pleasant like the song of the male blackbird . . . he gave me to drink water of an exceedingly fine flavour, and having drunk it, I experienced great pleasure; and the ground seemed to be moving under my feet." Vibhāṇḍaka warned him that "he" was one of the demonic Rākshasas in disguise—one of those fierce beings who so frequently annoyed the ascetics.[25] Three days later, when Vibhāṇḍaka was absent, the girl returned. In spite of his father's warning Rishyasringa followed her to her floating bower. The women unmoored their craft and kept the youth distracted by their arts until they returned to their city. Now that the penances of the dreaded Rishyasringa had been interrupted, Indra sent down rain in torrents.[26] The grateful king Lomapāda then bestowed his lovely daughter, Śāntā, on Rishyasringa in marriage.

Missing his son, Vibhāṇḍaka in the rage of the true Brahman ascetics set out to destroy by the fire of his wrathful glances the king, his city of Campā and all his territory. But when he beheld his son's wealth and the charming Śāntā he was appeased. He asked only that Rishyasringa, after the birth of a son, return to the life of an ascetic. This Rishyasringa did, and Śāntā accompanied him, waiting upon him obediently and affectionately in his forest retreat.

The Rishyasringa-legend must be centuries older than the *Mahābhārata* version in its present form.[27] That it is closely related to the story of Enkidu

[24] Different the purpose of the Lord in his word to the hairy Elijah at the time of drought, 1 Kings 18, 1, "Go show thyself unto Ahab; and I will send rain upon the earth."

[25] The "devil in the form of a woman" played a very important part in the Christian stories of tempted holy men.

[26] In the Buddhitistic *Jātaka* and *Kandjur* versions rain falls when the young ascetic is brought to a breach of chastity. In the *Jātaka* he is named Isisiṅgo, and it is a princess, Naḷinikā, who succeeds in tempting him (in his own hermitage).

[27] The date of the epic is most uncertain, being variously given as 300-100 B.C., or 400 B.C.-400 A.D. E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1915, p. 1. A representation

in the Gilgamesh Epic strikes our attention at once. The Semitic scholar, Prof. W. F. Albright, favors Mesopotamia as the place of origin of the primitive tradition that lay back of both stories.[28] However that may be, tales of the beguiling of a hero of productivity undoubtedly had a long history among the Hindus.

Leopold von Schroeder contended that in certain songs in dialog form in the *Rigveda* there were remnants of cult-dramas once presented at the celebration of fertility-festivals. One of these dealt with Agastya,[29] represented as a venerable holy man, practising the austerities of a Brahmacārin,[30] involving the observance of continence during sacrifices at the timeof the summer solstice. His likewise aged wife, Lopāmudrā, appears as the enticer in this strange piece of which von Schroeder says: "Wir dürfen es aber wohl als einen sehr gelungenen Versuch bezeichnen, die uralte phallische Fruchtbarkeitszeremonie in würdigster Form dem vedischen Ritual einzuverleiben."[31] Another drama, probably given in connection with a winter celebration of generation rites, was that of the first parents of mankind, Yama and Yamī.[32] Both of these Vedic ritualistic dramas contain the seduction of the male, a religious ascetic evidently taking in the first one the place of a mythical hero of fertility; but even if they were all that von Schroeder claimed for them they would not be complete parallels to the legend we are tracing. Agastya and Yama show here apparently no traces of the beast-man and are not remote solitaries whom the woman must seek out.

Our story of Rishyasringa, too, according to L. von Schroeder,[33] although not preserved in a Vedic poem, was probably the subject of

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in stone of the hermit and the gazelle and of the birth of Rishyasringa is dated by Lüders (p. 133) about 200 B.C. That too must be regarded as late in the history of the tradition.

[28] *Journ. Am. Oriental Soc.* 40, 331. Discoveries in Boghaz Kyöi and elsewhere indicate contacts of Assyro-Babylonian culture with that of the Indo-Iranians. See also W. Crooke in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics* 6, 688. M. Winternitz, in *Mitteilungen* der Anthrop. Ges. in Wien, 31, 305ff. J. E. Carpenter in *Studies ... presented to C. H. Toy*, 1912, claims that the Deluge-story, etc., went to India from Babylonia. H. Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland*, Halle, 1923,p.173: "Sicherlichhörte man [among the Indo-Iranian tribes] weiter von babylonischen Gottheiten und Sagen mancherlei (z.B. *Sintflutmotiv*, Bild von Weltbaum u. dgl.) . . . ," cf. also pp. 170-180. The place of origin of the notion of the seduction of the fertility-hero must remain uncertain. It might have grown up in various centers of population in Hither Asia. The peoples of the Near and Mid-Orient did not live, as it were, in separate compartments, and at various times there must have been contacts which would give rise to the transfer or crossing of such traditions once they had got a start.

[29] *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda*, 156-172, with transl. of text of *Rigveda* 1, 179.

[30] "Brahmacārin" here cannot pertain, as in later usage, to the first ascetic order, that of the unmarried disciple, but rather to the married Brahman who is observing continence, at least for the time of the sacrifices, op. cit. 157f. 298.

[31] Op. cit. 166.

[32] See below, p. 40, n. 12.

[33] *Mysterium und Mimus*, 292-303; *Arische Religion*, 2, 317f.

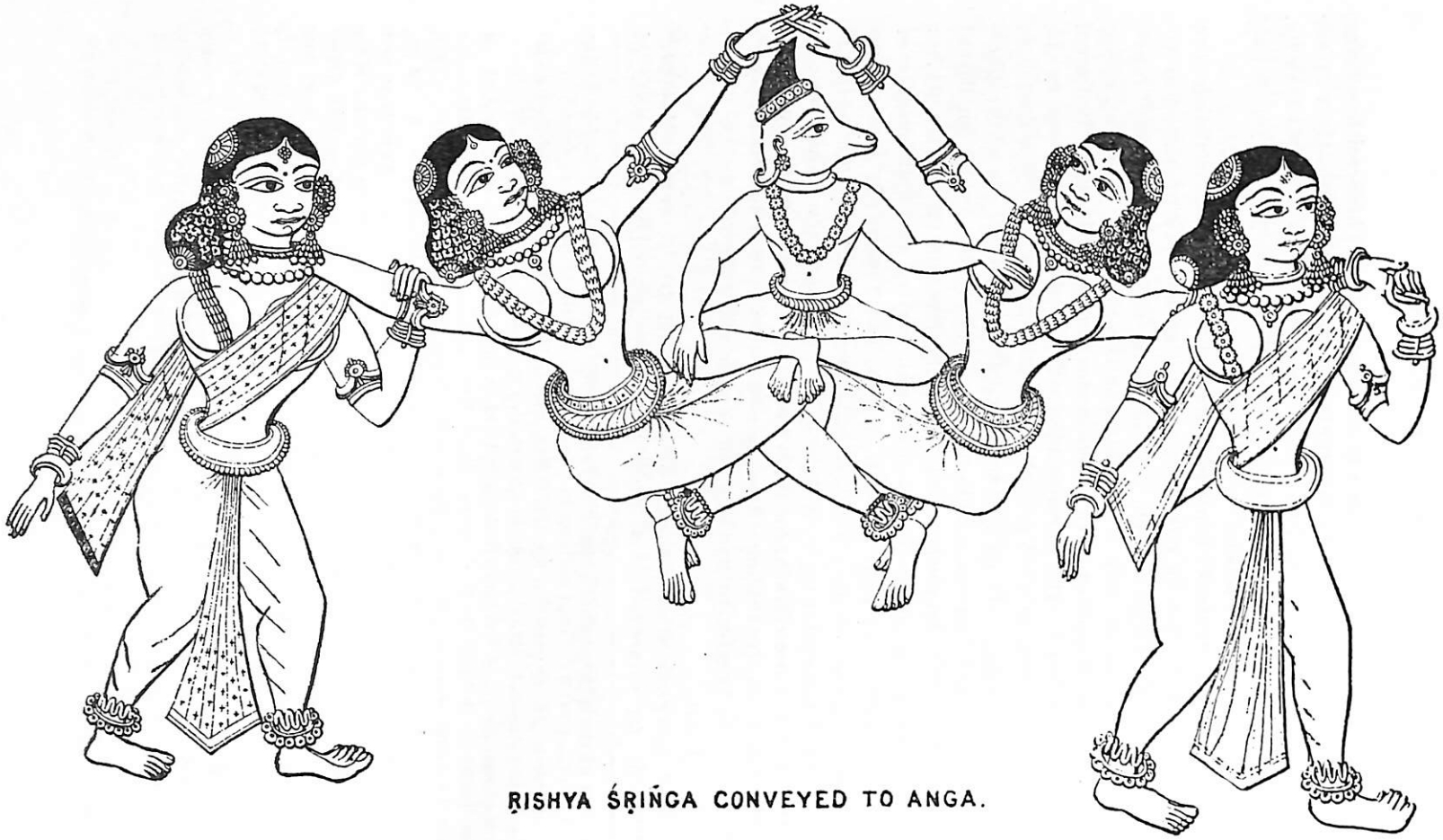

FIG 1. FROM A REPRESENTATION IN RELIEF IN THE TEMPLE OF GOPALASVAMI IN DEVANDAHALLI, INDIA. DATE (?). *Indian Antiquary*, 2, 142 f.

similar mimic representation at the summer solstice. This scholar might well have been more sure of the antiquity of the substance of the Rishyasringa legend, even in dramatized form,[34] if he had taken the Babylonian tradition into consideration.

The *Mahābhārata* version outlined above and related ones certainly underwent much elaboration in India. That there should be *two* beast-men, father and son, in this legend seems at first peculiar. They may indicate a coalescing of two traditions, or rather the development of an original story of the seduction of a partly beast-like hero of fertility into a legend containing two hermits.[35] The father is still the remote hairy guardian of beasts (sacred cows) with wild animals (gazelles, at least) near by. In this form of the story the incident with the celestial courtezan, Urvaśī, may be a substitution for the seduction by a mortal woman in a more primitive version;[36] it serves to make wondrous in origin Vibhāṇḍaka's somewhat indirect offspring, Rishyasringa, with whom the seduction-story proper has evidently been connected. The notion of the youth as the *son* of a solitary holy man of illustrious descent, raised by him from infancy as a most devout religious ascetic, is very probably a secondary Hindu development.[37] Being made the offspring of the hairy Vibhāṇḍaka (descended from the illustrious solar hero, Kaśyapa) and of a gazelle, he must have some mark of the beast—not hairiness in this case but a horn, or a pair of them, on his head[38] (see Fig. 1, Rishyasringa with a gazelle's head).

[34] Prof. W. F. Albright, who has a wide acquaintance with such material, seems to have no doubts about the representation of the Rishyasringa tradition as a mimetic fertility-charm in India. *JAOS* 40, 329f.

[35] A modern form of the Rishyasringa legend among the Sikhs has only one anchorite, at least according to the outline in J. C. Oman, *The Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India*, London, 1905, 83-85, from the *Tria Charitar*, a group of tales, mostly of deceitful women, (first half of the 18th cent.?), collected in the "Granth of the tenth Guru" (i.e. of the Guru, 'Teacher,' Gobind Singh) in the sacred writings of the Sikhs. This narrative of the horned Rishi, Shringa Rikh (!) differs in still other respects from the *Mahābhārata* version. After messengers, and then the Rajah in person, had visited the anchorite and had sought in vain to persuade him to come to the city, the courtezan and her party succeed. Somewhat like a Delilah, she makes him shave off his matted locks and as she leads him into the Rajah's domains rain begins to fall. But finally there is an excess of rain and the courtezan must be employed again to lure the Rishi back into the forest to his long interrupted austerities! This version with a single hermit would be very important if we could be sure it represented a pre-epic type rather than a simplification of the usual Indian legend.

[36] In the extant legend Vibhāṇḍaka still comes to the palace of the king, but for a different and perhaps less convincing reason.

[37] Contamination with other Hindu stories of the birth of notable persons has no doubt taken place here, cf. the miraculous origin of Droṇa and others from the fallen seed of great Rishis, n. 23 above. Droṇa, too, was *brought up by his father in a hermitage remote from all human beings.*

[38] W F. Albright gives two instances of Babylonian heroes of fecundity born of the sun-god by gazelle-mothers, see above, p. 21, at end of n. 42. It is possible that the one beast-

The temptress appears in two forms in the Rishyasringa legend. On the basis of some of the versions H. Lüders is convinced that in the original form of the *Mahābhārata* story it was the chaste princess,[39] not a courtezan or several of them, who enticed the saintly beast-youth from his woodland haunt to the king's palace. But considering the much older Babylonian parallel, one is inclined to assume that the notion of the courtezan as the ensnarer was after all present in a primitive (pre-epic) Indian form of the tradition (with one male). When the idea of the wondrous youth as the son of the original beast-man arose secondarily a new figure, the princess, may have been invented as a worthier seducer, anyway as his real mate. Thus on the basis of the old tradition of the solitary beast-man and the courtezan there seems to have been constructed in India a similar story of a Brahmacārin in the strict sense (Rishyasringa as the *pupil* of Vibhāṇḍaka)[40] and of a king's daughter as his beguiler (in some versions) and his spouse. Rishyasringa and the princess may be regarded as doublets of the traditional beast-like solitary and the courtezan—a pair of much finer grain.[41]

Mimic representation at fertility festivals might help explain in the story of the young pair the presence, now of the courtezan, now of the princess, as the beguiler. L. von Schroeder suggests that the part of the "princess" in the popular cult-drama (a later form of it?) would not be acted by a respectable woman but by a courtezan; thus the courtezan would be the "princess" and the "princess" the courtezan, and confusion could arise in a natural way.[42] But this would make the courtezan entirely secondary. The probabilities are that she was in the tradition from the beginning—in a primitive form with the one solitary—whence she could be easily transferred to the new story of the enticing of the youthful anchorite. A courtzan might have taken the part of the "princess" at the fertility-festival but she would not have been a new figure. Lines of tradition have crossed and recrossed in almost all extant forms.

Comparing the dramatic form of the Rishyasringa-story with the cult-drama of Agastya and Lopāmudrā, L. von Schroeder wrote: "Es zeigt durchaus eine feinere Anlage und man wird schon die Schöpfung des vedischen 'reinen Toren' eine dichterische Tat nennen dürfen."[43]

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man in our assumed version back of the extant Hindu legend was conceived as having horns, maybe a head like an antelope or a gazelle.

[39] Lüders, p. 93, calls attention to ch. 110, śloka 29, "Und wie sah jene Sāntā aus, die energische Königstochter, die den Sinn des Gazellengeborenen betörte?" to show that this version had been altered later.

[40] L. von Schroeder, *Mysterium und Mimus*, 293. 298, speaks of Rishyasringa as the ideal disciple, Brahmacārin.

[41] For the occasional appearance of *two pairs* in Hindu fertility rites see v. Schroeder, op. cit. 162, n. 2; *Arische Religion*, 2, 317. Could this have had something to do with the addition of the youth and the "princess" to a tradition of the hairy recluse and the courtezan?

[42] *Mysterium und Mimus*, 300.

[43] Ibid. 301, cf. 299.

Outside of India the only analogue which mentions a youth as the offspring of the tempted hermit is that of the fifteenth century German *Meisterlied* (p. 11 above). In that Chrysostomo and the princess were the parents of a son who grew to manhood without knowledge of any human being except one parent. This was the mother; hence the figure of the son in the *Meisterlied* was probably influenced by the story of Parzival. But an ultimate connection between the young Indian hermit and the simple youth, Parzival, seems to be reasonably clear—[44] and from this point of view the legend of Rishyasringa has interest for all of us.

A princess as the beguiler or mate of the beast-man does not appear in any ancient versions outside of the Indian group. But her presence in that rôle in the latter is of interest, for in the medieval European legends it is the chaste daughter of a king (or of an emperor) who is regularly the cause of the fall of the hoary anchorite. There, however, the princess is not a seducer but is his innocent victim.

Looking forward to the Christian legend, we note a few points of comparison with the pre-Christian parallels already discussed. In the legendary Rishyasringa there are significant differences from the Hindu forest-sage and from the Christian anchorite. Rishyasringa was only a young "disciple." Like Gilgamesh's "young friend," Enkidu, he appears from the beginning as a beast-man in the far-off retreat where he had marvellously come into being. The typical Brahman hermit was, like the Rishi Vibhāṇḍaka, an older man; he allowed hair and beard to grow and lived as simply as a beast only after retirement to the forest. The anchorite of the Christian legends, too, only became a "beast-man" during a special retirement to solitude to practise austerities or penances[45] (frequently after a sin, like a lapse into idolatry or unchastity). The woman in the Enkidu story does her burly companion many a wifely service, but no tradition of his marriage with her or with a king's daughter is known. The Indian solitary—rather the superhuman Rishi of old than the ordinary forest-dweller, it is true—hardly enters into a conjugal union as in human society with his Apsaras of celestial origin, but he does marry the mortal princess (cf. Rishyasringa, and Cyavana in note 14 above.) Such a feature cannot, of course, appear in the Christian legend with its insistence on chastity for the holy man.

[44] See L. von Schroeder, Wiener *Sitzungsberichte*, phil.-hist. Kl. 166, 76-78.

[45] Might there be Hindu influence here?

[46] Pahlavi texts told of the marvels of the future conception of two millennial prophets and of Saoshyant (Pahlavi: *Sōshāns*), the Messiah, from the seed of Zoroaster, with which the water of Lake Kansava (Kāsaoya) was impregnated. According to one of these texts three virgins of fifteen years, at intervals of a thousand years, were to bathe in this lake and give birth to those three holy men. At the expiration of the third millennium the third maiden

There is great plausibility in the view of S. Beal and of H. Lüders[47] that the Northern Buddhist story of the gazelle-born forest-hermit Rishyasringa, with the horn upon his head, influenced the Occidental notion of the fabled unicorn. This shy beast, according to the *Physiologus*, could only be caught by employing a chaste maiden as a decoy; it would then submit to her control and allow her to lead it up to the palace for the king.[48]

The Indian tales of the hairy recluse, although offering some striking parallels to our Christian legends of Europe in the late Middle Ages, are nevertheless remoter from the earliest Christian versions of Egypt. To these the natural introduction would be such Old Testament stories as those of Elijah. At the other end of the Old Testament material lies the story of Adam and Eve, close to a part of the *Gilgamesch-Sage*, in that it seems to reflect features of the tradition of the fertility-hero and the woman.

III

TRACES OF AN "ENKIDU"-TRADITION IN GENESIS 2 AND 3?

For a distinct parallel to the biblical narrative of Gen. 2 and 3 one looks first to other Semitic sources. Not so much for a story of the first *man* or *men*—that has been handed down in more than one form in such sources—but for one of the first *pair of man's ancestors*. All that turns up, however, is a single Phoenician fragment going back to Philo of Byblos, who was probably born in the days of Nero's rule. If this account of a first

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would enter the water and also drink of it; her son, thus immaculately conceived, was to become the Messiah. After his birth, as before it, she was to be chaste. (*Dīnkard*, Bk. 7, ch. 8, 51 to ch. 10, 19, in Sacred Books of the East, v. 47); cf. the Pahlavi *Būndahishn*, ch. 32, 8 (Sacred Books of the East, 5, 144), Geiger and Kuhn, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* 2, 686, H. Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig u. Heiland*, Halle, 1923, 396. It should not be overlooked in this connection that in the *Rāmāyaṇa* the story of Rishyasringa is related as a prophecy to be fulfilled in the future.—In the words said of Rishyasringa in the *Mahābhārata*, "he was possessed of a mighty spirit and though a boy was respected by aged men," one is reminded of what was related of the Christian Messiah as a boy twelve years of age. The version of the Rishyasringa legend in the *Skānda Purāṇa* may throw a little light on the *Mahābhārata* passage: Paramēśvara and Pārvatī look down from the heavens and behold the *twelve year old* Rishyasringa; he finds such favor in their sight that they lend him the power of preventing famine and drought for a distance of twelve *yōjanas* (60 miles or more) round about him (Lüders, p. 107, *Indian Antiquary*, 2, 140ff.).

[47] Article quoted, pp. 114f. Popular etymology: *Ṛṣya-śṛṅga*, 'Gazelle-horn' > *Ṛṣi Ekaśṛṅga*, 'The Sage Unicorn,' depending upon the version of the *Mahābhārata* in which Rishyasringa has only *one* horn on his head.

[48] Greek text in F. Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, Strassburg, 1889, p. 254.

pair of "mortals" can be trusted as representing an *old* Phoenician tradition, it might have some value.[1]

Thus the other Semitic sources, *so far as known*, offer very little for the story of the two original progenitors of the human race.[2] Old Iranian and Indian traditions[3] and later ones of other peoples[4] furnish parallels

[1] Eusebius, in *Praeparatio Evangelica* 1, 10 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 21, col. 76CD). Cf. L. B. Paton in article on Sanchuniathon in Hastings, *Encyclop. of Relig. and Ethics* 11, 178; from Kolpía, 'voice of breath,' and his wife, 'Bâau, the primeval chaos, were born a pair of mortals, "Aiōn, 'lifetime'=Ḥawwa (Eve), 'life,' and Prōtogonos, 'first-born'=Adam, (first) 'man'; 'and Aiōn discovered the fruit obtained from trees,' which corresponds to Eve's plucking of the forbidden fruit." But here one is reminded of the tradition of Osiris who "is said to have been the first to gather the fruit from trees, to train the vine to poles, and to tread the grapes," according to J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed., London, 1914, 2, 7. R. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, Bonn, 1921, p. 201; (p. 200, a connection between Osiris and Aiōn).

[2] Next to the Semitic traditions those of Egypt present themselves. In the legends of Osiris and of Isis, his sister-wife, we note some striking points of resemblance to traditions of the first parents. Osiris was not, it is true, regarded as the physical ancester of all men, but according to Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge he became the Father of the souls of the Egyptians, their great ancestor-spirit, and Isis the great mother-ancestress, (*Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, London, 1911, vol. 1, pp. xix, 300 f.). While Osiris of divine origin was king he conferred so many benefits upon mankind that his reign resembled a Golden Age. After Osiris had been smothered by his evil brother, Set, in a coffer which was floated down the Nile, his body was recovered by the faithful Isis. The incident of the conception of Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, while the wife was hovering in the form of a hawk over the dead body of her husband, may be compared to the seduction-story which is characteristic of early narratives of the first parents. Wicked Set found Osiris's body and rent it in many pieces which he scattered all over Egypt. There was also a tradition of the reconstruction of his body. Osiris revived, but in the world beyond. As the first being to rise from the dead, he became the ruler of the dead and the judge of souls. According to J. G. Frazer, Osiris was in one of his aspects conceived as a god of vegetation and of fertility in general, (*Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed., 2, 96 ff.).

[3] On the basis of H. Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland*, Halle, 1923, 315 ff., (see Bousset, *Hauptprobl. d. Gnosis*, 204f. 209ff.), the Indo-Iranian traditions may be summarized as follows. In a very early period two conceptions were combined: (1) that of a divine, androgynous being of colossal proportions but of human form, who allowed himself to be sacrificed by the gods, to become mortal in order that from his dismembered body the world and men might be created; and (2) that of the first being in human form to suffer death, who became the ruler of the realm of the dead. In India Yama, (son of Vivasvant, the Sun), represented the androgynous being (cf. *Tuisto* in Tacitus='Zwitter,' op. cit. pp. 324 ff). In offering himself as the first sacrificial victim, Yama would be the first sacrificer, op. cit. 387. On the probable origin of the myth of a sacrifice of a primeval being from a sacrificial cult-practice to ensure growth and fertility, see Güntert, op. cit., 388. Yama came to be conceived as a twin (*yamá-*) and the tradition must have had him produce from his own body a twin sister, called Yamī in the sources (cf. Eve from Adam's rib, op. cit., p. 320), thus we have the first parents of men. (See also M. Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, N. Y., '08, 140 ff.). Parts of these stories exhibit a striking analogy (not referred to by Güntert) to the Osiris tradition of Egypt, (Osiris and Isis were not exactly "twins," though it was said they were two of five children born on the five days that closed the Egyptian year, and that they even mated beforebirth The *Rigveda* (10, 10) contains a song dealing with the unsuccessful effort of Yamī to seduce her brother (L. von Schroeder, *Mysterium und Mimus im*, Leipzig, 1908, 275 ff). The divine

which help to justify an assumption that a special (non-Hebrew? even non-Semitic?) tradition of the *first parents* formed the main structure of the story of Creation and of the Fall in Genesis, ch. 2, from verse 4b on, and ch. 3— in the pre-exilic Yahwistic, or Jehovistic document, J.[4a]

But into such a main structure were built various Oriental materials. The most important among these belonged to a type of narrative dealing with an earthly paradise or with some fertile spot far from the usual haunts of men. In stories of the first couple the place where they were created or where they first lived in the great world need not be a restricted

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Yama, the first to die, was conceived as king in the paradise of the Blest in the highest bright heaven; but later as the prince of the dead in a gloomy abode. According to Güntert (op. cit. pp. 335f. 338f.) Manus or Manu (in India like Yama a son of Vivasvant would, if he were the son of an androgynous primeval being (cf. the Germanic *Mannus*, 'Man,' as the son of Tuisto), represent better than Yama the first being in human form to die and to become the lord of the dead in the other world. In one of these much mixed traditions it is related that Manu; produced from his own body a daughter, Idā, with whom he became the progenitor of the human race (op. cit. 346). On the myth of the dismemberment of the archetypa man, *Puruṣa* (the name a synonym of Manu; as 'Man') see op. cit. 320ff.

In Iran the Avestan Yima, son of Vīvahvant, was a name identical with that of the Vedic Yama, son of Vivasvant. In the *Zend-Avesta*, Vendīdād II (Sacred Books of the East, 4, pp. 11 ff.) Yima was the first mortal; he watched over Ahura Mazdah's world and increased it; in the golden age of his reign the world was filled (it is not clear how) with men and animals, so numerous that Yima was obliged to increase the size of the earth three times. Güntert (op. cit. 370-378) sees in these stories traits of the old Indo-Iranian tradition of the first of the dead as king of the Blest, and even of the notion of the androgynous primeval being. There was also a tradition of Yima's banishment (from the paradise-like enclosure, the *Var* or *Vara*, see note 21 to p. 42 below) and of his death by being sawn asunder (op. cit. 373-378). Just as Yama had a twin sister Yamī, so Yima had in later Iranian tradition a sister Yimak, who seduced him (Sacred Books of the East, 18, 419; Güntert, op. cit. 376 f.).—The late Middle Persian story of Māshya and Māshyōī in the *Būndahishn*, ch. 15 (West, *Pahlavi Texts*, 1 [Sacred Books of the East, vol. 5], pp. 52 ff.) belongs to the same category. On the spot where Gayōmart (here the androgynous being) "in passing away, gave forth seed," there grew up a one-stemmed *Rīvās*-plant, which developed into a pair of twins, Matrō and Matrōyāō ('mortal,' in masc. and fem.). Their bodies had grown together but were later separated. Now as Māshya and Māshyōī (in Güntert, op. cit., as Mašyak and Mašyānīk) they became the "ancestry of the world." They incurred the displeasure of Ahura Mazdah and seem to have eaten forbidden food (Güntert, p. 374f.). Their story includes their wanderings, an incident to be compared to the seduction-motive, and the birth of several pairs of children, who like their parents necessarily lived in an incestuous relation. Güntert, op. cit., 362.371 n. 2. 374-377; Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 5, 709ff.; Albright, *Journ. of Biblical Lit.* 37, 123. In later Jewish tradition Adam had two faces until God divided him with a saw into two parts, man and woman, A. Wünsche, *Schöpfung u. Sündenfall*, '06, 10f. On Ymir in Scandinavian tradition see Güntert, op. cit. 326-333 (sacrificed and dismembered, the world formed from his parts); 336ff. 347 (as a bi-sexual being, parent of a human pair, etc.).

[4] For other traditions in various parts of the world see O. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1907; J. G. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the O.T.*, vol. 1. Modern traditions of primitive peoples can only be used with great caution for our purposes.

[4a] Some scholars see in the Yahwistic source elements of different periods which they designate as J^1, J^2, dating roughly from 800-750 B.C.

area with something of the glamor of a distant paradise about it. The scene of the *garden-stories*,[5] however, is definitely represented as rather remote, even at the ends of the earth.

A few years ago Prof. W. F. Albright, Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, in an article on "The Goddess of Life and Wisdom,"[6] published material which throws light on the Garden-story in Genesis. This was the Oriental myth of the vineyard paradise[7] at the source of the rivers, over which the serpent-nymph (goddess of wisdom, genius of life) held sway. Such a goddess was Siduri, or Sirtur, mother of Tammuz (cf. the goddess Siduri Sabitu, to whom Gilgamesh made one of his "paradise-journeys," page 18 above). Professor Albright discussed parallels for a number of motives in the biblical story: (1) the paradise at the source of the four rivers;[8] (2) the tree of life and wisdom and its serpent genius; (3) the loss of immortality through the cunning of the serpent; (4) the seduction of the archetype man by the mother-goddess who induces him to eat of the fruit of (sexual) knowledge;[9] (5) the tree of life guarded by the winged genii of fecundity ("cherubim") and by the flame of the revolving sword (cf. "sun-wheel"). Professor Albright remarks that the characteristics of Siduri "place her in the cycle revolving about Tammuz and Ishtar, where we find virgin-goddesses and deities of wisdom and healing, vine-goddesses and genii of life."[10] He also calls attention to the the large group of myths, extending from Egypt to India, in which "procreation is introduced into the world by the seduction of the god of fertility or the archetype man, often one and the same, by the mother-goddess, or the first woman."[11]

The two Shumerian tablets of ca. 2000 B. C. published by Prof. E. Chiera do not contain a story of the first human pair, *Am. Journ. of Semetic Langs.* 39, 40-51, *The Outlook*, N. Y., Jan. 3, 1923. The seduction of a solitary by a woman is also lacking in another equally old Shumerian account of early man recently published by Prof. Chiera, Crozer Theol. Sem. Chester, Penn., *Babylonian Publications* 1, ("Mankind in the day of their appearance, Bread for eating they knew not, Garments for wearing they knew not, The people walked with the [four] limbs upon the ground, They ate grass with their mouths like sheep, They drank water from the ditches . . . ."). Here the god of flocks and the god of grains play their important parts.

[6] *AJSL* 36, 258-294 (July 1920); cf. *Journ. of Biblical Lit.* 37, 123.

[7] It was also a persistent theory in Rabbinical sources that the "tree of knowledge" was a vine, *AJSL* 36, 283; 39, p. 27; O. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, 1, 212, n. 1.

[8] See W. F. Albright, *AJSL* 39, 161 ff.

[9] Prof. Albright, in *AJSL* 39, 27, repeats his conviction that this serpent-goddess is almost certainly a prototype of Kalypso "and to some extent of Eve." In the same journal, Vol. 36, 284, n. 1, he calls attention again to Hebrew *Ḥawwāh*, 'Eve' as 'living' or 'life,' popularly connected with a somewhat similar Semitic word meaning 'serpent,' and gives examples from other dialects. Cf. also H. Gressmann in *Festgabe . . . A. Harnack*, Tübingen, 1921, pp. 24 ff., espec. 35-39 (Eve as the serpent "mother of all living").

[10] *AJSL* 36, 262.

[11] Ibid. 282.

In passing to the Oriental tradition that will claim our main interest in this chapter through its resemblances to Gen. 2 and 3, we are tempted to modify Professor Albright's last statement. That procreation was introduced into the world through the seduction of the archetypal man by the first woman, was undoubtedly a widespread popular notion. But certain Oriental myths and legends, presumably connected with old annual ritualistic ceremonies, indicate that fruitfulness, particularly vegetable fertility and animal fecundity, might be *maintained* in the world through the seduction by a woman (who could not now be the first mother of men) of a beast-like god or hero of fertility. The latter appears in the legends with which we are mainly dealing as a hairy beast-man, living with animals in a natural paradise, we might say, rather than in a cultivated or wonder-garden; this was conceived as a spot well supplied with pasture and water so remote from human kind (already existing, and in an advanced state of civilization), that the woman can only be brought to it from her king's city by a more or less arduous journey.

Here we have a tradition distinct in important points from that of the seduction of the *first man* in the restricted sense.[12] It is this unmistakable tradition of the seduction of the creature we are calling the "beast-man" that lay at the base of the episode of Enkidu and the woman in the Gilgamesh Epic. A form of the same tradition also seems to have played a part in the development of the story of Creation, of Eden and of the Fall in our second and third chapters of Genesis.

A comparison of the story of Adam with that of Enkidu (Eabani) was first made—for the younger Gilgamesh Epic, of course—a quarter of a century ago by the distinguished Orientalist often referred to in the preceding pages, the late Prof. Morris Jastrow, in a study on "Adam and Eve in Babylonian Literature."[13] He called the Enkidu-episode "a Babylonian counterpart to certain phases of the biblical story of Adam and Eve" (pp. 213 f.). A number of other well-known scholars acknowledge similarities in the East-Semitic and the Hebrew stories:[14] at least two stu-

[12] I do not say *altogether* distinct, for the traditions of the first father of men and of the beast-like fertility-hero had enough in common to make confusion easily possible. In connection with the Indian parallels L. von Schroeder suggests that the cult-drama of procreation which he assumes for Yama (the male of the *first pair* of man's ancestors) has points of contact with old Aryan midwinter festivals, while the popular exhibitions of the seduction of the *hero of rainfall and fertility* took place at the summer solstice (*Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda*, 280.301f.). Could there have been a similar separation of the two myths in western Asia?

[13] *Am. Journ. of Semitic Langs.* 15, 193-214 (July 1899).

[14] A. Loisy, *Les mythes babyloniens*, Paris, 1901, pp. 102-130, apparently did not know Prof. Jastrow's article. O. Proksch, *Die Genesis*, Leipzig 1913, p. 28, refers to Loisy but not to Jastrow. The following used Prof. Jastrow's study: E. Worcester, *The Book of Genesis . . .*, N. Y., 1901, pp. 229-232; F. R. Tennant, *The Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin*, Cambridge, 1903, 39-42; Geo. A. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, N. Y., 1902, p. 93,

dents of Genesis suggest even ultimate relationship between them.[15] After the discovery of the Pennsylvania tablet of the early Babylonian recension of the Gilgamesh Epic, Professor Jastrow discussed the matter once more.[16]

Gen. 2-3 is not a simple original tale but a literary production containing elements paralleled, sometimes closely, sometimes remotely, by extant remains of non-Hebrew traditions: the myth of Siduri and possibly details from other traditions still reflected in the biblical Garden-story; maybe also traces of the myth of Adapa.[17] But as I see it, the main parallel

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Journ. Am. Oriental Soc. 39, 287, cf. also his *Archaeology and the Bible*,[3] 1920, p. 256 (for Gen. 2, 7) and his article in Hastings, *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics*, 2, 704 (Eden); Chas. Foster Kent, *Narratives of the Beginnings of Hebrew History*, N. Y., 1904, 372 f., and in his *The Heroes and Crises of Early Hebrew History*, (The Historical Bible, Vol. 1), N. Y., (1908), p. 37; J. P. Peters, *Early Hebrew Story*, London, 1904, 221 f., and in Hastings, *Encycl.* 4, 154; J. Skinner, *Genesis* (Internat. Crit. Commentary), 1910, p. 91; H. Th. Obbink, *Het Bijbelsch Paradijsverhaal*, Utrecht, 1917, p. 122, n. 1; E. W. Hopkins, *The History of Religions*, N. Y., 1918, p. 360; W. F. Albright, *JAOS* 40, 330. In *Journ. of Biblical Lit.* 37 (1918), 124, n. 9, Professor Albright calls a part of this Babylonian legend "a striking parallel to the Fall in Genesis," even if it "cannot be dignified with the title 'prototype of the Fall.' " and adds, "There is a much better parallel which I hope to discuss soon in this journal." Professor Albright writes me that this new parallel is the above-mentioned myth of the vineyard-paradise, published two years later in another journal, viz. *AJSL* 36, 258 ff.

References to several scholars who disagree with Prof. Jastrow (some of them have not read him carefully?) as to the significance of the Enkidu-legend for the biblical story may be found in the work of J. Feldmann, *Paradies und Sündenfall*, Münster i.W., 1913, p. 231, cf. pp. 161 f. 226-232. 276. Cf. also Eduard König, *Die Genesis*, Gütersloh, 1919, 216 n. 1.

[15] B. Stade, *Zs. f. d. alttestamentliche Wiss.* 23 (1903), 174: "Gn. 2.3 sind also Motive verschmolzen und umgebildet worden, die dem Adapa- und dem Eabanimythus entstammen." H. B. Ayles, who was unacquainted with Professor Jastrow's work, declared that the Babylonian legend "so closely resembles this section of Genesis that it seems impossible to doubt their common origin," (*A Critical Commentary on Gen. II, 4-III, 25*, London, 1904, pp. 15-18). See also the quotation from Professor Jastrow at the end of the next note.

[16] Introduction to Jastrow-Clay, *Yale Oriental Series*, IV, 3, (1920), espec. pp. 39-47. Professor Jastrow did not consider the animal-man in his aspect as fertility-hero nor any Oriental traditions except that of the Gilgamesh Epic (and Gen. 2 and 3). He regarded Enkidu rather as the type of primitive savage, illustrating the evolution to the higher form of pastoral life. To him the episode of Enkidu and the woman was an analogue to the Genesis story, resting on similar traditions that may have arisen independently. (It would be altogether wrong to claim that he regarded the *Enkidu-episode of the epic* as the *source* of Gen. 2 and 3.) However, in the Haskell Lectures, 1913, he spoke of the "interesting account [in the Gilgamesh Epic] of primitive man actually living with the animals" and added, "it may well be that the compiler . . . [of Gen. 2 and 3] had a faint recollection of such a tradition," *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, N. Y., 1914, pp. 101 f.

[17] On the much discussed Adapa-myth, constituting a certain parallel to the loss of immortality in Gen. 3, cf., for instance, R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, N. Y., 1912, pp. 67-76; G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*,[3] p. 260 ff.; J. Feldmann, *Paradies und Sündenfall*, 1913, 190-199; H. Th. Obbink, *Het Bijbelsch Paradijsverhaal*, 1917, pp. 35. 59 ff. 97 ff.; A. T. Clay, *Origin of Biblical Traditions*, New Haven, 1923, 109-112. See the discussions of other traditions in the more recent large commentaries on Gen., such as those of Skinner, Gunkel, E. König, etc., and M. Jastrow's article in *AJSL* 15, 193 ff.; also

—the chief prototype, in fact, of the two Genesis chapters (page 38 above) —would have to be sought in a special tradition of the first pair of man's ancestors: their creation, the seduction of the man by his mate, their loss of favor with the divinity,[18] and their harder lot subsequently in the rough world they were to fill with the human kind.[19] When sections of the biblical narrative reflecting directly or indirectly such various elements have been checked off, could there be any room left for a tradition of the beast-like fertility-hero—an *"Enkidu"-tradition, even if not from* the epic itself—as a possible crude prototype of portions of Gen. 2 and 3?

It will be worth the effort and the space necessary for a re-examination of the matter, if there should be even a possibility that so important a figure as Adam, through kinship with a pagan tradition of the "Enkidu"-type, had some affinity to the tempted solitary of our European legends.

At the beginning of the Yahwistic narrative itself is a section starting logically with the story of the *first man* (human pair) and ending with that of the *Flood-hero*[20]—the two figures who mark the beginning and the end of the antediluvian period,[21] within which we find a number of long-lived

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Prof. Julian Morgenstern, "The Sources of the Paradise Story," in *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy* 1, 105 ff. 225 ff.

[18] Not paralleled in the Babylonian tradition of the beast-man and the woman.

[19] I should not venture to suggest a long list of details that might have belonged to the pre-Yahwistic tradition of the first pair of man's ancestors (see also notes 27-29 to p. 44 below).

[20] Other portions of the biblical story of the Flood belong, like Gen. 1, etc., to the Priestly or P source.

[21] A Shumerian story of Creation and Deluge on the same clay-tablet, published by A. Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, Philadelphia, 1914, cf. G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*,[3] Philadelphia, 1920, pp. 278 ff.—The *first man* and the *Deluge-hero* are confused with one another in so many traditions that there must once have been a very intimate connection between them. One has only to study the Indian and Iranian material to see how the motives of the Flood-hero tradition interlace with the story of the first man (or of the bi-sexual primeval being). On Manuṣ or Manu in India (like the first ancestor of men, Yama, a son of Vivasvant, the Sun) as the first man, see n. 3 above; as a Deluge-hero, cf. J. G. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the O. T.*, London, 1918, 1, 183 ff. The same chapter of the *Zend-Avesta* (Vendīdād II, Sacred Books of the East, 4, 15-21; better translation in A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament in Lichte des Alten Orients*,[3] Leipzig 1916, 129 ff.) which describes the flourishing period of the reign of the first mortal, Yima, goes on to relate that by decree of Ahura Mazdah, after he had "called together a meeting of the celestial gods" (a similar assembly in the Babylonian Deluge-story), fatal winters were to fall on his well-populated world, on "evil material humanity," "with floods that stream and snows that melt . . . . ," which will be the death of man and beast. Ahura Mazdah orders Yima to build a safe enclosure (*Var, Vara*) surrounded by a *wall of* well-baked *clay* (=*paridaeza-*, cf. 'paradise'); "und an die Burg bring ein Tor an, ein lichtes, innen eigenlichtiges" (A. Jeremias, op. cit. 130). Into this fixed, not floating, place of refuge Yima was to take the seeds of the finest kinds of men, of cattle, etc. "Every fortieth year to every couple two are born. . . . . And the men in the *Vara* which Yima made live the happiest life." Cf. Bruno Lindner, "Die iranische Flutsage," *Festgruss an R. von Roth*, Stuttg., '93, 215ff: "Dass wir in Vendidad II die echtiranische Fassung der Flutsage haben,

patriarchs: Cain, Seth, and others descended from them.[22] This reminds one of the scope of the Gilgamesh Epic, though the latter is, of course, far from being an epic of the antediluvian kings or heroes. The epic is interested only in one king. It does not need a "first man"—its world is already peopled—but it uses at the beginning in the story of Enkidu the ancient tradition of the seduction of the *hero of fertility* who is brought to the king (now identified with Gilgamesh), while its latter parts also lead into the cycle of the *Deluge-hero*. In the epic Gilgamesh binds together the beast-man and the hero of the Deluge, somewhat as several antediluvian patriarchs connect first man and Flood-hero of the Yahwistic account. An ultimate relation of the Babylonian account of the Deluge preserved in

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dürfte jetzt wohl allgemein zugestanden werden." H. Güntert remarks (*Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland*, p. 371): "Hier hat sich die nicht-arische Sintflutsage und die Vorstellung von den Rettung der besten Arten aller Wesen verschmolzen mit dem Motiv vom Leben der Seligen in einem Paradieszustand des goldenen Zeitalters." It is another story of the death of the race of men and beasts and of their rebirth after a cataclysm in a more perfect form. Yima is the Iranian first mortal and Deluge-hero *in one and the same person*.—Ymir in Scandinavia as the androgynous primeval being has already been referred to (end of n. 3 above); for an echo of the Deluge-motive in the Ymir tradition (*Gylfaginning* 7) see Güntert, p. 372.

The notions of a first, or great *sacrificer* and of a *wine-grower* are associated, now with the first or early man, now with the Deluge-hero, in the traditions of Osiris, Ut-napishtim, Yama-Yima, Manu(ṣ), Noah, Adam (in the *Book of Jubilees* 3, 27, made an offering of spices on the day he went forth from the Garden, R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T.*, 2, 17), etc.

The widespread cosmogonic legend, accounting for the origin of the earth from the primeval waters (cf. also Gen. 1 in the P, or Priestly, account) and relating the appearance of the first parents of mankind, etc., frequently has connected with it the story of the universal or World-Flood, in which the earth is again covered with water, after most of the human kind had lost the deity's favor (the Fall of the race), and the last pair or pairs of the old race become the progenitors of the present one. The Flood-hero is the first man of the post-diluvial period, the second "first man." The diluvial tradition is undoubtedly ancient, but it strongly suggests another phase, or doublet, of the story of origins from a watery waste. Very many late traditions, such as are easily accessible in O. Dähnhardt, *Naturs agen*, Vol. 1, and in Frazer's *Folk-Lore in the O. T.*, are most striking in their blending of "Adam" and "Noah": the first man tossed about on some floating object or on the first unstable land until it became fixed (cf. the landing of the Ark) or had grown large enough for habitation; the sending out of living things to fetch "earth-seed" at the beginning (and sometimes during the Deluge!) to be compared with the sending out of birds when earth is to reappear after the Flood, etc., etc..

[22] A. T. Clay, *Origin of Biblical Traditions*, ch. VI, W. F. Albright, *JAOS* 43, 323 ff., G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*,[3] pp. 264 ff., and other scholars have discussed the well-known lists of antediluvian kings, one said to have been obtained by Berossus in Babylon, the other Shumerian. Though these may not begin with the "first man" they end with the Deluge-hero and afford interesting parallels to Genesis. A. Ehrenzweig, *Zs. f. d. Alttest. Wiss.* 38, pp. 82 f. 85, claimed that such histories of the antediluvian kings or patriarchs had been made into cult- or festival-legends corresponding to the months. For the possibility of an annual cult-myth cycle involving traditions like those of our Babylonian fertility-hero and Deluge-hero, see pp. 23 f. above.

the Gilgamesh Epic with that of the Yahwist is pretty generally accepted.[23] Might there not be just as good a possibility of some degree of relationship between a form of our fertility-hero tradition and the Hebrew story of the first man and his mate?

We may now examine a list of points in which the pagan tradition, as handed down in the Enkidu-episode, and the biblical account of Adam and Eve resemble one another.[24] They are at the same time features for which no other ancient traditions seem to offer such close parallels to the Hebrew as does the story of Enkidu. Gen. 2-3 is so familiar that it will scarcely be worth while to compare the main traits of the two stories in parallel columns. For details of the Enkidu-tradition see the outline on pages 14-19 above.

A divinity creates from earth or clay the guardian of an isolated, well-watered oasis or earthly paradise[25] *who has only beasts as his associates* (in Genesis also birds); *the geographical localization of Enkidu's haunt and of the Garden of Eden is rather to be called similar than divergent*;[26] *introduction of a woman who as a temptress is prompted by another* (hunter, serpent);[27] *forsaking of animals as companions; the "man" learns from the woman the meaning of human love; mention of the "cursed ground"*;[28] *assumption of clothing*;[29] *departure of the denizen of the garden or haunt with the woman to live, labor*[30] *and die ("return to earth, or clay") in the great world outside.*

[23] See the Genesis commentaries.

[24] Others of less importance in Prof. Jastrow's study, *AJSL* 15, (e.g. p. 211: Adam and Eve, like Enkidu and the woman, were "naked and unabashed"; the woman likens Enkidu "to a god," cf. the words of the serpent concerning Adam and Eve in Gen. 3, 5).

[25] Enkidu's haunt was not the abode of the gods; possibly the Garden itself was not felt as the real dwelling of Yahweh, though he did come to walk about in it (his "pleasure-garden," as the Hebrew for "Garden of *Eden*" may mean, Vulgate: *paradisus voluptatis*, Douay version: 'garden of *pleasure*').

[26] In the later Gilgamesh Epic the hunter and the woman reached Enkidu's watering-place on the third day out of Uruk (Erech). I assume that the Tigris and Euphrates were taken in Gen. to be in their natural location. On Eden as a terrestrial paradise in the far west, see W. F. Albright, *AJSL* 39, pp. 23f.26.29. Prof. A. Ungnad claims that the topography here was originally not terrestrial but celestial (the Garden or "Paradise"=constellation of Pegasus)—a relic of Shumerian conceptions, *Das wiedergefundene Paradies* (Kulturfragen 3), Breslau, 1923. A different interpretation from the standpoint of astral mythology in A. Drews, *Der Sternhimmel*, etc., Jena, 1923, pp. 70-80.

[27] In the Old Babylonian version, line 63. The assumed independent story of the first parents *might* have implied something of this sort.

[28] It is barely possible that the Hebrews might have been acquainted with this trait through other sources also, e.g. a story of the first human pair, or through some tradition of the serpent temptress.

[29] Cf. Barton, *JAOS* 39, 287, in connection with the Old Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic and Gen. 3, 21.—The assumption of clothing might also have been a feature of the story of the first parents.

[30] Enkidu (in the older epic) as a *shepherd*, Adam a stage more advanced as a *tiller of the*

Thus we find distributed in the Genesis account from beginning to end a number of important points of contact with an East Semitic legend, and among a people known to have had traditions in common with the kindred East Semites. Because of the character and number of these similarities, which occur, too, in the same order in both sources, it seems entirely reasonable to claim that not all of them could have been merely accidental.

One point that might be overlooked in the above list of resemblances I look upon as very important for the ultimate relationship between the traditions represented in the Hebrew narrative and in the epic. This is the combining, in these two sources only, of the notion of *creation from clay or earth* with that of the *guardian of animals who was seduced by a woman brought to his isolated haunt or garden.* We might assume that the creation from clay had been known to the Hebrews in stories of the origin of the first man or of early mankind, or that this feature and the seduction-motive as well, were familiar to them in a tradition of the first pair of man's ancestors; but from the known parallels we could not claim that the notion of the lone guardian of animals was derived from such sources. I feel, too, that the trait in Genesis that woman was not created until *after* the animals could have been readily suggested by the tradition of the fertility-hero living with animals as his only companions until a woman was brought to him.[31]

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soil.—The idea of a life of hardship as man's lot may well have occurred in old pagan stories of the first human pair in the great world.

[31] Two other details in Genesis which might possibly have a connection with peculiarities of the pagan tale are as follows: (1) Gen. 2, 15 speaks of Adam's duty of 'keeping' the garden. *If* this should mean 'protecting,' and not be a later addition (as suggested, for instance, by Prof. Julian Morgenstern, *The Book of Genesis*, Cincinnati, 1919, p. 60), one asks, "Against *whom* or *what* did the writer think Adam should protect Eden?" The most plausible answer would seem to be: "Against demons, "(Gunkel, *Genesis*, 1910, p. 10). Yet might room be left for a possibility that predatory *men* (and beasts?) from the great outer world had been originally implied here after all, just as in the story of Enkidu, who protected his beast-companions against the hunter from outside? (2) Gen. 3, 23 f. means, of course, that the woman was driven out of the Garden along with the man but it does not indicate how the *animals* were allowed to come out, if their center of dispersal was regarded as the Garden in Eden. The story of the fertility-hero took it for granted that there were animals everywhere, in the *outside world* as well as in the beast-man's haunt. The pre-Yawistic tradition of the first parents also had presumably the normal conception of a great world to be filled with men and beasts, but was without the notion of a restricted preserve. But the apparent oversight in Gen. may be accounted for in other ways: the writer did not think of the beasts, or he did not deem it worth while to mention them. Might he possibly have had the notion that the Creator formed the animals, as he did Adam, in his potter's workshop *outside*, taking only specimens of them to Adam in the Garden, while the rest remained without? That would be no more naïve than some other features of the same narrative. On Eden as a region larger than the Garden itself, see, for instance, Gen. 2, 8 and 3, 23, and E. König, *Die Genesis*, 1919, pp. 198 f. 206. 253; H. Th. Obbink, *Het Bijbelsch Paradijsverhaal*, Utrecht, 1917, 112 ff. The *Book of Jubilees* (late second cent. B.C.) tells how all flesh was sent out of the Garden of Eden and scattered according to its kinds. The same source relates that Adam had to tarry 40 days and Eve 80

If the Hebrews utilized a tradition like that of the episode of Enkidu and the woman to help shape their narrative of the first human pair and to help bind together its various elements, they must have recognized in that hoary legend a peculiar suitability for such purposes. It would seem fitting that there should appear in their account of the first *man* (*'ādām*, 'man,' Adam) to till the once dry and barren *ground* (*'ădāmāh*; Gen. 2, 5), out of which he was taken, and to be the father of the human race, some traits of a supernatural creature at one time popularly regarded as a genius of rain, of fertility and fecundity.[32] The seduction-motive in itself was valuable for its popular appeal,[33] though it is plausible that for this, as for the greater part of Genesis 2 and 3, the Hebrew drew more from a tradition of the two original progenitors of men than from the beast-man story.

But the pagan tradition must have contained features which under any circumstances a biblical writer could only have regarded as superfluous, contradictory or otherwise objectionable. Such elements would be: (1) The trait that the chief denizen of theremote haunt was (physically, at least) not just like a human being, but a hairy creature somewhere between a beast and a man; this would, of course, be utterly impossible in a representation of Adam as the first *man*.[34] (2) Likewise the existence of the great *outer world of mankind* (and of other creatures)—whence a temptress was sent to the beast-man and where dwelt a king to whom he was led after his seduction—could not have been indicated in the biblical story, where the man of Eden was himself to be the "first father of men innumerable." (3) The human beguiler of the *first man* must necessarily be created as the *first woman*; Genesis could not have used unchanged a tradition representing her, not as the first woman, but as a female brought by someone from their outside world for the sole purpose of tempting and of luring away the "man"[35](in Genesis not even the journey of the woman to a remote

days "in the land where they had been created" before they were *brought into* the Garden of Eden, and on leaving the latter "they dwelt in the land of their creation." R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O. T.*, 2, 16 f.

[32] And Eve, if she represented something of a goddess of life at the source of the rivers as in Professor Albright's parallels, would be no less appropriate from her side.—One cannot, however, look for Adam to be a pronounced rain or fertility-bringer for the outside world. Already in the Gilgamesh Epic, so far as preserved, that trait was not mentioned for Enkidu who was enticed from his solitude for another purpose. See n. 39 to p. 20 above for Enkidu outside of the epic.

[33] W. F. Albright, *JBL* 37, 123.

[34] There is in Genesis no *ascent to man* living his part in the world, as in the version of the Gilgamesh Epic—but a *descent* from the first ideal condition. Enkidu had been happy with his animals before the advent of the woman—more content than Adam—but the Babylonian epic did not put stress on his haunt as an earthly *paradise*.

[35] This from the standpoint of the old legend of the fertility-hero; the other parallel in Prof. Albright's study would have her in her paradise from the beginning.—The creation of Eve from Adam's rib represents a still different tradition. Can it be based on an etymological

paradise);[36] and (4) even as a temptress she could not have been presented with the frankness of the old tale of the beast-man and the harlot. (5) No reminiscence of a pagan divinity that might be lingering in the beast-man even of the Gilgamesh Epic, would have been tolerated in an account of the first man from the monotheistic point of view.

If it were not reasonably certain that the main foundation of Gen. 2 and 3 was an already existing story of the first pair of man's ancestors, a very much greater importance for the biblical account might be ascribed to the tradition of the one-time fertility-hero.[37]

But, after all reasonable allowances have been made, there still remain several features in the two Genesis chapters (see pages 44 f. above) pointing to a relationship with the pagan tradition. The form we actually know, (E), the episode of Enkidu in the famous epic, suggests itself as the indirect source of those details of the Hebrew story of the first parents; indirect, for even if the influence of E were responsible for the similarities it would not be necessary, of course, to assume an immediate literary dependence of the Yahwist upon the Gilgamesh Epic itself. Though E *might* be the indirect prototype of details of Gen. 2 and 3, I prefer to think that the resemblances could be due to a common stock of traditions of the fertility-hero, both the epic and the Yahwist (in part) going back to a popular variant.[38] The latter, however, would doubtless have been pretty much like the form preserved in E.[39]

I believe that what evidence we have is mostly in favor of the ultimate relationship between an "Enkidu"-tradition (not *necessarily* that of the

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confusion? Riessler, ni *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1911, (cf. H. Th. Obbink, *Het Bijbelsch Paradijsverhaal*, Utrecht, 1917, p. 123; J. Feldmann, *Paradies und Sündenfall*, Münster, i.W., 1913, pp. 242. 243, n. 5), and Père Scheil, *Comptes Rendues*, 1915, p. 534, remark that cuneiform *TI* means 'life' (cf. *Hawwāh* 'living,' 'life-giving,' 'life'; as 'Eve,' Gen. 3, 20) and also 'rib.'

[36] *The Book of Jubilees* (see end of note 31 above) asserted that 80 days after her creation Eve was *brought from outside* into the Garden. Even if the biblical narrative implied that Eve was formed from the rib in the Creator's workshop *without* the Garden, it might be going a bit far to seek in Yahweh's "causing her to come" to Adam a parallel with the escorting of the woman to Enkidu's haunt. But the woman in the Enkidu-story reminded Professor Jastrow of Eve, "who when she is brought to Adam becomes his inseparable helpmeet and companion," Jastrow-Clay, p. 39, with reference to his article (see *AJSL* 15, 205).

[37] If we were certain as to all that the primitive first-parents tradition known to the Hebrews had contained, the question of the influence of the story of the fertility-hero in the Yahwist would, it is hardly necessary to say, be much easier to answer. The character of that first parents tradition back of the Yahwist would seem to have been determined by influences like those in Iranian (or Indo-Iranian), if it is fair to judge from the almost complete absence of anything of the sort in other extant early Semitic sources.

[38] Such as the hypothetical *x* or *y*? See the end of n. 42 on p. 21 above.

[39] One might also assume that the Hebrews had had an old tradition of the beast-man which they modified on acquaintance with the 'Enkidu'-type of it.— There will be few to claim that the similarities to the epic version could be due to borrowing on the part of the Babylonians from the remote ancestors of the people who told of Adam and Eve.

epic) and parts of the biblical story—a relationship which justifies the inclusion of Adam among the figures who have an affinity to the hermit of our Christian legends.

Those who might be reluctant to admit actual kinship in any degree between the pagan and the biblical tales must acknowledge that, remote as it may seem at first glance, the story of Enkidu and the woman, considered from beginning to end, would nevertheless be the nearest analogue to the Creation and Fall of Gen. 2 and 3 that has come down to us in any ancient Semitic source. This fact is in itself a not inconsiderable distinction for the pagan legend.[40]

In considering a connection between these pagan and biblical stories the apparent coarseness of the fertility-hero tradition should not be allowed to prejudice our judgment. The luring of the superhuman, even divine, beast-like solitary and his union with the mortal woman were once conceived as the means of renewing the fruitfulness upon which the very existence of men depended—for them the most important matter in the world. The religious ceremony of this renewal of fertility could not have been offensive in any way to the men of the early day when a belief in such things was current.[41] Granting that it suited the purpose of the Hebrews to use, or allow to stand, some of this old tradition, a later age should not feel so repelled by such parts of it, and by other parts which the Hebrews themselves had presumably either laid aside or toned down, as to dismiss hastily the whole matter. To an outsider it would seem that the subject deserves more attention than it has received in several Genesis commentaries, whose authors may have been deterred by the nature of the non-biblical material from a very profound study of the pagan tradition.[42]

[40] A few passages from Professor Jastrow are appended for the reader who might be more impressed by the differences between these biblical and Babylonian tales than by the similarities. "The divergences," he wrote (in *AJSL* 15, 214), between the Enkidu-episode and the story of Adam and Eve, "are precisely of the kind we have the right to expect in view of the conditions under which the old popular traditions and legends of the Hebrews took shape." In another connection he made a remark which, I feel, can apply to the legend under consideration: the narratives in the early chapters of Genesis contain old stories "too popular to be suppressed or crowded out; they are therefore transformed and adapted to new conditions. The mythical element is reduced . . . to a minimum; the ethical spirit is introduced." (*Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, N. Y., 1914, p. 18). Again, as he expressed it, popular traditions were cleared of "objectionable features in order to adapt them to the purpose of the Hebrew compilers, to serve as a medium for illustrating certain religious teachings regarding man's place in nature and his higher destiny." (Jastrow-Clay, *Yale Oriental Series*, Researches IV, 3, p. 39 f.). The stories of Gen. 2 and 3 themselves were rather the framework, "the main purpose of the writers was evidently philosophical and religious," (*Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, pp. 103).

[41] Cf. the holiness of Risyasringa in India.

[42] If the presence of traces of the pagan tradition should be conceded, the question would arise: How might the influence of Gen. 2 and 3 have been different, if *no* traits derived from the one-time fertility-hero had been permitted to stand in the sacred account?

A few remarks on Gen. 2 and 3 as a whole may be permissible. The groundwork of this section seems to represent a fusion, in harmony with a monotheistic view, of materials with sources or parallels in several Oriental traditions, chiefly:

I. *The First Pair of Man's Ancestors.* Probably a Creation-story (the origin of the first parents of mankind, also the creation of the animals and of all other life), and an account of man's loss of favor with the Creator to explain his hard lot—all more likely somewhere in the normal great world than in an isolated oasis or garden. A story of the seduction of the male by his mate was probably a part of this tradition.[43]

II. *The Beast-Man of the Fertility-Rites.* A tradition of a partly beastlike god or hero of productivity, represented as dwelling with animals in a far-away haunt and as being seduced there by a woman to secure fruitfulness for her world without. The basis of much of the Enkidu-legend. In some form it is of value for its possible contributions to Gen. 2-3, particularly as regards the figure of Adam.

III. *The Genius of Life and Knowledge in her Wonder-Garden.* A "Paradise"-story, which in its Babylonian phase may be called the myth of Siduri, possibly contributing details to Eve and her garden of delight with the four-branched stream, the wonder-tree and the "serpent" (the presence of other animals was probably not indicated in this Garden-story). The narrative of the loss of immortality by man could be readily connected with this material, which in the Genesis-form doubtless represents a blending of motives from various sources.

Not merely the second of these traditions, but all three of them, may have had one motive in common: the seduction (see notes 2 and 3 of this section and pages 42 and 39 above). The first, as well as some forms of the second, might have contained the ideas: creation from clay, assumption of clothing, labor and death for mortals in the great world, and (barely possible for I) the notions of the "cursed ground" and of the temptress prompted by another. Numbers II and III had the conception of a remote well-watered haunt, or of an isolated garden or oasis; the beast-man of the one was once a genius of rain and fruitfulness; Siduri, in the other, was a *female* genius of life at the source of waters. Man's loss of favor with the deity, which seems to be a part of the tradition of the first human pair (I), results in his definite loss of immortality through the serpent in the coalescence with the motives we group together under number III.

By the use of hoary traditions such as or similar to these, it seems reasonable to assert, the Hebrews developed their Yahwistic narrative of Creation, of the Garden of Eden and of the Fall—a narrative which shows again their wonderful power of reworking and of adding to cruder materials in accordance with the noble plan of their religion and morals.

[43] Non-Semitic parallels in note 3 to p. 37 above.

IV

OTHER OLD TESTAMENT TRADITIONS

The resemblance in the story of Adam to the tradition of a creature like Enkidu bring up the question: Might there not be personages besides Adam in the Old Testament of whom traits similar in one way or another were related?

Professor W. F. Albright holds that to the historical Joseph (and to some extent to Jacob as well) certain features of a god of fertility or hero of animal fecundity had been attached.[1]

Professor P. Jensen, in *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur*, 1 (1906), compared Old Testament figures from every angle which the standpoint of the *Gilgamesch-Sage*, as reconstructed from the damaged tablets of the younger recension of the epic, seemed to afford: Moses and Aaron; Joshua and others in various forms; Jacob; Joseph; Abraham; Isaac; Saul; David and others; as well as the "Nazirites" and other hairy men: Samson, Samuel, Esau, Elijah, Absalom, and Nebuchadnezzar.

In leading up to the earlier Christian forms of our legend we may limit ourselves to a brief consideration of some of those last mentioned. These are comparable only in a few traits to our ancient hero of productivity. The motive of the seduction of the hairy solitary by a woman brought to him from her world is at any rate lacking.

Esau had a hairy body like Enkidu.[2]

To **Samson** (*Shimshōn*, connected with *shemesh* 'sun')[3] have been attached traits of a solar hero. There are features about him that seem to fall into the same segment of the cycle with our old daimon of fruitfulness and procreation. The long hair is accounted for by representing Samson as a devotee whose locks are allowed to grow uncut as a mark of holiness. The simplicity of our "beast-man" who ate no cultivated food and drank only water and the Nazirite's holiness which after all Samson cannot consistently show are paralleled in the life of his mother who, previous to his birth, abstained from intoxicating drink and unclean food.[4] The strength and spirit exhibited by this hero in his one-man border-raids are brought

[1] "Historical and Mythical Elements in the Story of Joseph," *Journ. of Biblical Lit.* 37 (1918), 111-143, 133.

[2] P. Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur*, 1, 226 f. 235 f. 264. He also points out resemblances of Esau to the hunter of the Enkidu-episode. H. Gressmann calls Esau Enkidu's "alttestamentliche Parallelgestalt," Ungnad-Gressmann, 96, n. 1.

[3] H. Stahn, *Die Simsonsage*, Gött., '08; G. F. Moore, *Judges*, N. Y., 1900, 312ff.; Jensen, op. cit. 385-405; Burney, *The Book of Judges*, Lond., '18, 391ff.; Paul Carus, *The Story of Samson*, Chicago, 1907; A. Smith Palmer, *The Samson Saga*, London, 1913; G. J. Frazer, *Folk-Lore of the O. T.*, 2, 480-502; A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*,[3] 430ff.; A. Drews, *Der Sternhimmel*, etc., Jena, 1923, pp. 140-152.

[4] Budde in Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, 4, 380.

into connection with his unshorn hair.[5] His physical power is like that of an "Enkidu"; it is only subdued when, through a woman's wiles, Samson is humanized for a time by the cutting of his locks. The dozen or so feats and labors[6] of this lone filibuster in contest with man, with woman and with beast are performed among an outer people. But Samson, unlike an Enkidu, has a parental home and a people; his abode in Dan was not a place where he had only animals about him; no woman was brought from afar to lure him out.[7] Whatever resemblances the narratives told of the hero Samson may have to tales like those of Enkidu occur in the first part of his story. The incidents of his later career suggest to some a "Gilgamesh."[8]

Nebuchadnezzar, according to Daniel 4, 33, was "driven from men [and his dwelling was with the beasts of the field][9] and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' (feathers), and his nails like birds' (claws)."

The great king becomes a "beast-man" as a punishment for vaunting himself and failing to bless and honor the Most High. We shall see that in the Christian forms of our legend, too, the holy man only becomes beast-like after his retirement to solitude (cf. the Brahman forest-hermit).[10] The earlier Christian legends do not indicate that the hermit was condemned to live like an animal as a punishment.[11] And when he needed a

[5] Frazer, op. cit. 2, 487 ff., gives parallels.

[6] On Samson and Hercules cf. H. Stahn, op. cit.; A. Smith Palmer, op. cit.; Julian Morgenstern, *Journ. of Jewish Lore and Philosophy* 1,235: " . . . . the Samson story, evidently a typical, Israelite, solar myth of the Hercules type"; W. F. Albright, *JAOS* 40, 310: "Hercules and Samson, whose essentially solar nature is clear"; P. Jensen, op. cit. 404f. For Indo-European tradition L. von Schroeder in the Vienna Akad. d. Wiss., *Denkschriften*, 59, 3 (1914), does not identify Herakles with a form of the sun, but regards his origin as essentially the same as that of the god Indra, who was a sun-hero in the sense of a champion of the sun, who continually freed it from the power of night, of winter, etc., (cf. Thor); see also H. Güntert, *Der iranische Weltkönig und Heiland* Halle. 1923, pp. 24-49, 59.

[7] It must be admitted that a version of the Samson legend circulating in Philistia might have had greater resemblance to the beast-man tradition. Cf. also Frazer, op. cit. 2, 502.

[8] Details in the work of P. Jensen and in Burney, *The Book of Judges*, 391ff.

[9] Supplied from Dan. 4, 32.

[10] Professor P. Jensen, op. cit. 195f., regarded the Nebuchadnezzar tale as a "relatively good copy of part of the story of Eabani" (Enkidu), i.e. his assumed flight back into the desert and his return to honor at Gilgamesh's court. [The idea of this flight now given up by Prof. Jensen, *Gilgamesch-Epos*, etc., Leipzig, '24, p. 8, n. 3.]—I think it is of greater importance here to refer to the old Hindu tales of kings who retired to forest solitude to live more like beasts than men. King Pāṇḍu went (with his two wives) into the deep woods to practise severe penances (after unwittingly killing the Brahman sage, Kiminadama, who had changed himself into a gazelle); there until his death he wore rags and skins, bore knotted locks on his head and ate fruits and roots (*Mahābhārata*, Bk. 1, ch. 118). Some Indian ascetics adopted the "gazelle's (deer's) mode of life," in which they ate the food of beasts without using their hands, see above, p. 27 and note 11.

[11] But they may relate that the retirement to solitude was undertaken through a desire to do penance for a lapse into idolatry, or (in one or two cases before the late European versions) into unchastity.

covering for his naked body, it was rather by divine favor that he became hairy. It would be strange, however, if the Nebuchadnezzar story had not exerted some influence upon the Christian legends, especially in the detail found in several versions of walking on all fours.

Elijah (Elias). Certain features of this extraordinary personality suggest reminiscences of the hairy genius of rainfall and fertility in ancient folk-tradition.[12] Elijah, too, was "an hairy man"[13] and wore only a mantle (woven from hair like Elisha's sack-cloth? 2 Kings 6, 32) and a leathern girdle. He was at first a solitary. It could be said of him, as of Enkidu, that his "home was on the mountain"—in rugged Gilead out by the desert with its forests and wild beasts. He brought rain to the land of a king as did the legendary fertility-hero; for it was as a prophet of rainfall that he first appeared, suddenly, before King Ahab (1 Kings 17, 1). He had only to show himself before the king (ch. 18, 1) when the Lord would send rain upon the land parched in a three-year's drought; as soon as the false prophets were disposed of, rain came as promised (ch. 18, 41-45). Rabbinical tradition and legend saw in him the cosmic bringer of fruitfulness.[14]

If, however, Elijah were to resemble more fully the traditional hero of productivity, we should expect to learn that a woman had been sent to lure him to the king's city for the benefit of the land and people. But a story of the seduction that might thus be looked for previous to his first appearance to Ahab, or at any rate before the rainfall, is absent.[15]

More distinct than relics of the genius of fertility in Elijah are the reminders in his history of the myth-cycle of the *Deluge-hero*. The latter, we remember (cf. again the Gilgamesh Epic), was taken to an abode not intended for mortals.[16] Here we think of Elijah's translation in the body. His journey to Mt. Horeb and his seeming indifference to distance at times (1 Kings 8, 12; 2 Kings 2, 16) also suggest elements of the diluvial tradition.[17]

Elijah was such an extraordinary personality that even in or near his own days (ninth century) he could well have been a subject for accretions of foreign legend. Thus, if in the later book of Kings we find distinctive

[12] P. Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltlit.* 1, 579 ff., contains a 125-page treatment of the stories of Elijah, Elisha and Ahab in their relation, as he saw it, to the figures of the younger epic (for Elijah, particularly Eabani=Enkidu and the Deluge-hero, Ut-napishtim).

[13] Arnold B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel*, 7, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 278 f. and note, says that in 2 Kings 1, 8 Massoretic *'ish baʒal śēʒār* "kann nur heissen ein haariger Mann, nicht aber jemand, der einen Pelz an hat. Elia war haarig und hatte auch starkes Kopfhaar." The Septuagint has *'Ανὴρ δασύς*, 'a shaggy man.'

[14] A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Test. im Lichte des Alten Orients*,[3] p. 546 (no source given).

[15] P. Jensen, op. cit. 581f. sees in the widow of Zarephath traces of a beguiler of Elijah.

[16] Ut-napishtim (Atrahasis) was, according to W. F. Albright, *AJSL* 35, 190, in some respects a prototype of Elijah; cf. also P. Jensen, *Das Gilg.-Epos in der Weltlit.* 1, 601 f.

[17] In the younger Gilgamesh Epic (Ungnad-Gressmann, p. 49, note, and p. 137) Gilgamesh and the boatman make the voyage of forty-five days in three to Ut-napishtim.

traits of the chaste Flood-hero—or even reminiscences in proper subordination of the old fertility-daimon (who was sometimes not far apart from the hero of the Deluge, as in the Gilgamesh Epic and even, it seems, in Genesis 2-3 and 6-8)—somehow incorporated in his marvellous history, we need not take it as particularly strange. In later Rabbinical and other tradition Elijah came to be a most remarkable legendary personage.[18]

Such wondrous traits of the Elijah story as have been mentioned here will turn out to be very important for the later development of the theme of the hairy anchorite. In Christian Egypt of the fourth century and later there were legends (influenced by Gnostic ascetic ideals) which depended to some extent on the narratives of Elijah[19] and which made out of the figure partly corresponding to him a remote hairy hermit.

A few of these legends endow the saint with unmistakable characteristics of the solitary beast-man (e.g. living and feeding with animals). In one of the earlier Christian tales there is even the seduction by a woman, but in the others this is as completely lacking as in the story of Elijah himself.

Other versions of the legends with more or less distinct parallels in the Flood-hero cycle reflect some traits of the biblical narrative of Elijah. His marvellous flight into the desert after Jezebel's threat, as a "paradise-journey" to the Mount of God, when he travelled forty days and nights after partaking of one meal of food miraculously supplied (1 Kings, ch. 19), is paralleled in Christian legend by the wondrous but difficult journey of a faithful ascetic to the retreat of the hairy anchorite. This visitor sometimes performs parts at least of his journeys to, or especially from, the solitary in an incredibly short time. The account of this reminds us again of that voyage of Gilgamesh to the Babylonian Deluge-

[18] L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 4, Philadelphia, 1913, ch. VII; *Jewish Encyclopedia* 5, 122 ff. Elijah as a forerunner of the Messiah, I. Scheftelowitz, *Die altpers. Religion u. das Judentum*, p. 1920, Giessen. 202.—A far-famed personage of Moslem legend, exhibiting most of the traits usually associated with Elijah, is Ḫaḍir, or Ḫiḍr (al Ḫiḍr, Chidher), "eine von Gott begnadete, mit besonderer Weisheit ausgerüstete Person," K. Vollers, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 12 (1909), 234-284. Vollers connected him also *with our two heroes*, Eabani (Enkidu) and Ut-napishtim, ibid. pp. 259. 274. In these stories Ḫiḍr was, like the Rabbinical *Elijah* at the Transfiguration), now of Alexander the Great, now of Mohammed. In the tales of Ḫiḍr Elijah, too, may appear (somewhat like the Egyptian Christian hairy anchorite, see below) as a remote holy man (here of gigantic size) with beard whiter than snow and face and garments shining like the sun (Vollers, loc. cit. p. 263). Cf. also I. Friedländer, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 13, 161-246.—In the Christian *Apocalypse of Peter* Elijah (and Moses) appear not only with shining countenances and garments and with bodies beautiful with a "redness mingled with whiteness" but with curling and flowing hair. See p. 55 below in note 2.—Moses probably appears as a companion-witness with Elijah because his end, too, was marvellous (Deut. 34, 5 f.); among early authorities "it is somewhat frequently stated that Moses (like Elijah) had not yet seen death," W. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, London, '96, p. 208.

[19] Here and there a version of these legends mentions him, and Enoch also—the two translated men of God.

hero when a distance of forty-five days was covered in three.[20] The account of Elijah's translation (cf. that of Ut-napishtim) in Elisha's presence (2 Kings, ch. 2) has a parallel in the Egyptian Christian legend: the visitor had really been divinely directed thither to witness the ascension of the holy anchorite's soul and to bury his body.[12]

V

APOCALYPTIC TRADITIONS OF THE DELUGE-HERO

The ancient genius of productivity, partly beast-like still, is the dominating figure in the pre-Christian affinities of the hairy anchorite of the late medieval Western legends.

But, as has been mentioned before, details from the cycle of the Deluge-hero, beside the tale of the seduction of the beast-man, constitute very important elements of the pagan basis of our Christian legends. Thus an outline of the pre-Christian material cannot overlook a figure very different from the seduced fertility-daimon: a holy man with hair of celestial whiteness, who has characteristics in common with a late form of the Flood-hero. Most of the earlier, or Egyptian, versions differ from the European type in making of their hairy anchorite a person resembling ultimately that white-haired Flood-hero rather than the beast-man.[1]

We have seen above how Elijah, embodying, it seems, even in the biblical narrative traits from the Deluge-hero cycle, contributed something to the extraordinary recluse of some of our early Eastern Christian legends. But even more important than Old Testament scriptures for this saintly hermit were certain non-canonical writings of the last centuries before the Christian era: Noachian literature and the traditions of Enoch. The apochryphal apocalyptic *Book of Noah*, for instance, represents the Deluge-hero with "hair white as wool" (like the "Ancient of Days" in Dan. 7, 9; cf. Rev. 1, 14).[2]

[20] Indifference to space and time—like that of a man in his dreams, one might say—was also ascribed by Philostratus to the Neo-Pythagorean saint and long-haired wonder-man, Apollonius of Tyana (in Loeb Classical Library).

[21] The saint in this type of monkish fiction differs from the Flood-hero and Enoch-Elijah traditions in that only his soul is taken up to heaven. The fact that the Gnostic Christian was not much concerned with physical resurrection may have had something to do with this. But the notion of the ascent of the soul past the planetary stations influenced these early Christian legends more than Elijah's translation. It was, according to W. Anz, the central dogma of the Gnostic systems, cf. W. Bousset's article in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 4, 136ff. 229ff. H. Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland*, Halle, 1923, 401ff. 409f.

[1] Iranian traditions had come to exert a strong influence and we remember that for those in particular we have to consider the *first ancestor of men* in intimate connection with the Flood-hero, see above p. 42. n. 21.

[2] The fragment preserved in the *Book of Enoch* (second century B.C.), ch. 106, in R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O. T.*, Oxford, 1913, vol. 2, pp. 278 ff., describes Noah, at his birth, to be sure, in verse 2: "And his body was white as snow and red

Probably from sources of this kind, and from their later forms in the non-canonical apocalypses of the first Christian centuries, there was developed in Egypt the notion of the solitary Christian ascetic whose nakedness was covered only by thick hair, usually of dazzling whiteness, growing from his head or all over his body. This purely legendary saint, appearing in written sources from the fourth century on under different names[3]—or (because fictitious?), with no name at all—was essentially a man of light. Through the silvery hoariness of great age there shone the transfiguring glory of his spirit, perfect in holiness after decades of hardships and ascetic austerities. Gnostic Christians seem to have been largely responsible for the origin of the Christian form of the tradition, which in some of the earlier versions exhibits striking peculiarities of their beliefs.

Our main interest will now shift to the hoary saint of the Eastern Christian tales, who had become "perfect" in the Gnostic sense. We shall see that in his story the familiar seduction-motive will be as much out of place as it would have been in the narratives of the Deluge-hero, of Enoch, or of Elijah. This hairy solitary will not come to dwell again in the world he had once renounced, but will spend the rest of his earthly career in remote solitude. Only at the end will a pious witness find his way to the anchorite from the outside world to behold the ascent of his soul and to lay his holy remains in the earth.

The beast-man we had become so well acquainted with will leave at least some traces in a part of these earlier legends, but here too the temptress will be lacking as a rule. In the latest of the Eastern versions, though, which lead up from one direction[4] to the chiefly vernacular European types

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as the blooming of a rose, and the hair of his head and his long locks were white as wool, and his eyes beautiful. And when he opened his eyes, he lighted up the whole house like the sun, and the whole house was bright"; verse 10: " . . . and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool. . . . ." A somewhat similar description was given of the two *men* (Moses and *Elijah*) who appeared with the Lord at the Transfiguration in the Christian *Apocalypse of Peter*, M. R. James, *The Apocryphal N. T.*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 508. 518 ff. —T. K. Cheyne, *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel*, London, 1907, pp. 115 f., thinks that Enoch rather than Noah was originally the name of the Hebrew Deluge-hero. Whether this be true or not, there was at any rate a close association between Enoch and Noah in Jewish apocalyptic tradition (cf. Enoch and Elijah, Moses and Elijah).

[3] Such were Anuph, Onuphrius, Mark of Athens, Macarius Romanus, etc. Jerome took him over as St. Paul of Thebes, the "First Hermit."

[4] I suspect that the European versions did not develop solely from the Egyptian Christian legends but received new impulses from the direction of India, (a princess, lost during a hunt with her father, falls into the hermit's power; the jealous Indra who sends a celestial courtezan to tempt the zealous ascetic has a counterpart in Satan in the late medieval forms). Hindu influences, through well-known Hellenistic channels, on the early versions of Christian Egypt may not be improbable, e.g. the important notion of an ascetic retiring to solitude to live after the manner of a beast.

of the later Middle Ages, the seduction-motive will reappear in a modified form. Our hairy anchorite will then exhibit an evener blend of traits characteristic of most important ancient pagan figures: a god of fertility in partly beast-like form and the hero of the Deluge—two figures which sometimes had even been brought into association with the first ancestor of men.

To give a fairly adequate conception of the Egyptian Christian versions of our legend and an outline of the development of the tradition previous to the European vernacular forms will be the aim of the remaining part of this study.

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